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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA



*Presented to M. Smith Town
by the writer of Toleration John H. S.*

BISHOP'S BONUS,

SEABURY COLLEGE,

DIVINE RIGHT OF PRESBYTERIANISM,

AND

DIVINE RIGHT OF EPISCOPACY :

IN A SERIES OF ESSAYS,

Originally published in the Connecticut Herald, from November 21st,
1815, to January 9th, 1816, inclusive.

TOGETHER WITH

17 A CONCLUDING NUMBER,

FROM THE WRITER UNDER THE SIGNATURE OF

"TOLERATION,"

Which has never before appeared in print.

See last page.

F NEW-HAVEN :

PRINTED BY OLIVER STEELE.

.....
1816.

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TO THE READER.

THE Editor has taken the responsibility of omitting, in this pamphlet, the *notes* to the pieces written by "Hamilton," and those passages of "A Churchman," and the fable of "Æsop," which contain only personal invective, or matter not bearing on the subject ; under the impression that they are irrelevant to the argument, and offensive to the serious of all denominations.

BISHOP'S BONUS,
SEABURY COLLEGE, &c.

No. I.

Phoenix Premium of 50,000 Dollars.

THIS money came into the Treasury of the State, in consequence of the petitioners for the Phoenix Bank offering \$60,000 to the Assembly for a charter of a Bank of one and a half million dollars capital stock. After the argument was heard before both Houses on the petition, the directors of the Hartford Bank presented a memorial to the Lower House, with an offer to increase their capital stock one million dollars, and to pay the State a premium or bonus of five per cent. on that sum, or fifty thousand dollars, provided the Assembly thought it expedient to enlarge the banking capital in the State. The capital stock of the Phoenix Bank was then fixed at one million dollars; and a premium of five per cent. was charged upon the stockholders of said Bank, and ordered to be paid into the treasury.

At the same session, twenty thousand dollars of *this money* was granted to the trustees of the Medical Institution of Yale College; and the remaining thirty thousand dollars, which has since been the subject of much discussion, the Honourable Council originated a bill disposing of twenty thousand dollars to Yale College, and ten thousand dollars to the trustees of the Bishop's Fund, in conformity to the offer of the petitioners for the Phoenix Bank.

But it may be doubted by some, whether the petitioners for the Phoenix Bank did *offer* to pay any part of the premium for the privilege of banking, to the trus-

tees of the fund for the support of a Bishop;* and to remove all doubt and mistake on this point, the words of the petition relating to the subject are given at length: —“ And they [the petitioners for the Phoenix Bank] *offer*, moreover, in conformity to the precedents in other States, to pay for the privilege of the incorporation herein prayed for, the sum of sixty thousand dollars to be collected (being a PREMIUM to be advanced by the stockholders) as fast as the successive instalments of the capital stock shall be paid in; and to be appropriated, if in the opinion of your Honours it shall be deemed expedient, in such proportions as by your Honours may be thought proper, to the use of the Corporation of Yale College, of the Medical Institution established in the City of New-Haven, *and* to the Corporation of the Trustees of the Fund of the Bishop of the Episcopal Church in this State, *or* to be otherwise disposed of for the *use* of the *State*, or for any purpose whatever, which to your Honours may seem best. And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.”

Hence it follows, that individuals, for the sake of a certain privilege to be granted them by the Assembly, *offered* to appropriate, for the benefit of the Episcopacy in this State, a sum of money, which, as to amount, was left to the discretion of the Legislature, and which, of course, as to the appropriation itself, was also left to their discretion. And we are compelled to state, that, after repeated solicitation, the Assembly have *refused* to comply with this *offer*; a distinct negative of both Houses having been given, the present fall session, to the memorial of the trustees of the Bishop's Fund.

In consequence of this offer, the Honourable Council passed a bill granting \$10,000 to the Bishop's Fund; and at the last spring session, they *again* voted to grant the same sum for the same purpose; thereby holding out an expectation to the friends of the Episcopal religion, that the same members of that honourable body (circumstances being the same) would vote in the same way.

* How abhorrent to the feelings of some persons, are the words *Bishop*, *Episcopate*, *Episcopal*, and *Episcopacy*! Yet, perhaps, justice ought to be done to Episcopalians.

The Lower House voted in favour of the petition for chartering the Phoenix Bank ; but they have *uniformly* since voted against the appropriation for the support of a Bishop. Last spring they gave 40 votes out of 166, and this fall, 39 out of 177 votes, in favour of this claim.

We are then justified in the assertion, that the Assembly have *refused* the offer of certain individuals to pay a sum of money for the support of the Episcopal religion in this State ; which sum of money the Council have repeatedly declared by their votes to be \$10,000.

But we state further, that the Assembly did *accept* of the offer of the same gentlemen to pay a sum of money to one of the institutions mentioned in said petition, which institution *favours* another denomination of Christians, viz. the Congregationalists or Presbyterians in this State. The amount of the money actually appropriated to the Medical College in this town, appears, by the act of appropriation passed at the same session the Phoenix Bank was incorporated, to be \$20,000, to be paid by the stockholders of said Bank, being a part of the *premium* they agreed to pay for their charter. That we are not incorrect in this statement, the resolve itself is given :—“ Resolved by this Assembly, that *out of the first monies which shall be paid into the treasury of this State, in pursuance of the act incorporating the Phoenix Bank*, the treasurer shall be, and he is hereby authorized and required to pay the sum of \$20,000 to D. Daggett, Wm. Leffingwell, and Charles Denison, Esquires, who are hereby appointed trustees to receive that sum, and the same at their discretion to expend and appropriate for the use and benefit of the Medical Institution of Yale College, in promotion of the objects of said institution.”

But we are also to prove, that the Medical Institution of Yale College *favours* the Presbyterians ; and for this purpose we shall have recourse to the records of Yale College, the Medical Institution being a branch of that College. The following is the *creed* assented to by the officers of *both* Yale College and the Medical Institution.

“I, *A. B.* being chosen a fellow of Yale College, do hereby declare, that I believe that the *Assembly's Catechism* and the *Confession of Faith*, received and established in the churches of this colony, and *in this College*,

contain a true and just summary of the most important doctrines of the Christian religion; and that the true sense of the sacred Scriptures is justly collected and summed up in those expositions. And all expositions of Scripture, pretending to deduce any doctrine or positions contrary to said doctrines laid down in those compositions, I believe are wrong and erroneous. And I will take all reasonable measures, and such as Christian prudence may direct, in my place and station, to continue and *propagate* the doctrines contained in the summaries of religion in this college, and transmit them to all future successions and generations; and use the like measures to prevent the contrary doctrines from prevailing in this society.

“I do also consent to the rule of church discipline, established in the ecclesiastical constitution of the churches of this colony.
A. B.”

The above *form* of a creed, and the following vote, will be found in President Clap's History of Yale College, pages 64 and 65; which were agreed upon at a meeting of the President and Fellows, Nov. 21st, 1753, and which are believed to be in full force, as to the substance, at the present day.

“Voted, That every person who shall be chosen President, Fellow, Professor of Divinity, or Tutor, in this College, shall give his consent to the rules of church discipline established in the ecclesiastical constitution of the churches of this colony; it being understood, that our ecclesiastical constitution may admit of additions or alterations in such circumstances as, according to our confession of faith, are to be regulated by the light of nature and the rules of Christian prudence. *And it is especially declared*, that if any person shall *deny* the validity of the ordination of the ministers of this colony, commonly called Presbyterian or Congregational, or shall hold that it is necessary or convenient that such ministers should be *re-ordained*, in order to render their administrations *valid*, it shall be deemed an *essential departure* from our ecclesiastical constitution, and *inconsistent with the intentions of the founders* of this College, that such a person should be chosen an officer in it.”

The Presbyterians or Congregationalists are, then, *favoured with office*, and the Episcopalians are excluded from holding offices in Yale College and in the Medical Institution of said College; the officers of the Medical Institution being compelled, we believe, to subscribe to the same established creed with the President, Professors and Tutors of Yale College. Should we, however, be inaccurate in these particulars, we will, without delay, publish the creeds or statutes now in use. At all events, let the creed be perfectly liberal and sound, it is well known that the whole influence of the establishment is with the Mother College. In the pamphlet containing the laws of this institution, on the 6th page, are the two following articles:—"Art. 1. The government of the institution shall be vested in the President and Academical and Medical Professors, who shall be styled The Faculty of the Medical College." "2. The President shall call the meetings of the Faculty: no vote shall be valid without his consent: and when the members present shall be equally divided, the President shall have a casting vote." And on the 1st page, where is the Act establishing said institution, respecting the nomination and appointment of officers, are these words: "And there shall be a joint committee of an equal number of persons, appointed by the Convention of the Medical Society and Corporation of Yale College, who shall make a nomination; from which nomination the aforesaid Professors shall be chosen by the *Corporation*."

And have we not now proved, that the Legislature of Connecticut, having granted the privilege of banking to the petitioners of the Phœnix Bank, for \$50,000; having ordered the whole sum into the treasury of the State, and having drawn from thence \$20,000 out of the \$50,000, for the support of the Medical Institution, which *favours another denomination* of Christians; having refused to grant a dollar of this money to the trustees of the Bishop's Fund; and having heretofore granted banking privileges to individuals, without a premium or consideration in money; we ask then, that from these facts brought together, is not the case fairly made out, that the Legislature has not dealt out the same measure of beneficence to the Episcopalians and to the Presbyte-

rians ; that the latter have been preferred, and the Episcopalians have been rejected ?

We will take another view of this important claim, in very few words ; which is, that, although the Assembly rejected the petition, yet, by granting the Bank to the petitioners, and putting the premium into the treasury, and granting from thence a *part* of said premium to one of the corporations suggested in the petition, they have *committed themselves in good faith* to make the grants to the other corporations *connected* with it in the same petition. It is not the common practice of the Assembly to grant bank charters upon *petitions*. Bills are introduced into one of the Houses, and grants made in nearly the same form and manner, which were adopted with respect to the Phoenix Bank charter. Not acting directly upon petitions, *postponing* or *negating* them, but in a few hours afterwards granting the *substance* of what they pray for, are believed to be *forms* of proceeding not material. It is mere subterfuge to say that the petition was not granted. But should we admit, that in consequence of the rejection, the subsequent grant to the Medical Institution does not bind the Legislature in good conscience to make the grant to the Episcopalians, (which admission, however, we do not make.) still the question would occur, why did the Assembly so *exercise their discretion* as to *reject* the petition ? The Council, which was the only House that voted against this petition, certainly did not consider their vote as precluding them from the *discretion* of making the appropriation we now claim ; for they did vote, in a day or two after, to grant \$10,000 to the Bishop's Fund.

And should there be an unwise exercise of discretion, or should a right or pledge be withheld, or should there be an offer rejected, which ought to be accepted on the great principles either of toleration, of liberality, of impartiality, of justice, of law, or of equity, let the steps of the Assembly with cheerfulness be retraced. These are principles worthy the practice and enforcement of legislators. They are the primary and fundamental principles of government. They cement the affections of the great body of the people. They exalt and adorn a nation. They dignify its rulers.

But it may be inquired, Do the Episcopalians *complain* that the Medical Institution has had \$20,000 granted by the State, which was a part of the Phoenix premium? that Yale College has had frequent grants of money from the treasury? that a *test* of religious faith is required of the officers of that seminary? and that this creed is taught the students? No such complaints will be made, or ought to exist, provided the Legislature will grant them, what they have often prayed for in vain, *their* part of the Phoenix premium; and provided they will also grant a charter for a College, where the Episcopalians can educate their children in their own faith and mode of worship. Until these grants are made, it appears to the writer, that their complaints are founded on a deep and thorough consciousness that justice is on their side.

It is a misfortune, that the Episcopalians do not believe that the ordinations of the Presbyterian Clergy are not conformable to Scripture; and it is a misfortune, that they do not believe in the creed established in Yale College. It is so great a misfortune, that when individuals are *willing** to advance money, as in the case before us, for the support of Episcopacy, the State has taken it for their own purposes, and then paid out a *part*† of it to the support of Presbyterianism. It is so great a misfortune, that, *without abjuring his faith*, an Episcopalian cannot become an officer in Yale College, either tutor, professor, or president. Yet he has the good fortune to be allowed to send his sons to be educated and indoctrinated in Vincent's Catechism and the Saybrook Platform in said college. Yet he has the good fortune to pay taxes for the support of the government of this State, and for that of the college. But he has the seri-

* Mr. Gould, of Litchfield, in the closing argument for the Bank, stated, before both Houses, that it was the *wish* of the petitioners to apply one third of the premium to Yale College, one third to the Medical Institution, and one third to the Bishop's Fund.

† The Medical Institution has had \$20,000 out of \$50,000 already granted by the State, *more than one third*; and its officers have presented a petition to the Assembly, which is postponed to the next session; by means of which, the remaining \$30,000 is expected to be granted to it and to Yale College, under the *specious* name of a "Lunatic Hospital and State Poor-House."

ous unhappiness of being sensible that he does not enjoy equal rights, in regard to religion, with other denominations of Christians. Yet let him, however, with full conviction of its high importance, (notwithstanding this hard condition in a land of freedom,) as the Catechism enjoins, "*honour and obey the civil authority;*" and let him, with steady mind and meek spirit, "*learn and labour truly to get his own living, and to do his duty in that state of life unto which it shall please God to call him;*" always remembering, that "*in every nation, he that feareth God, and worketh righteousness, will be accepted of him.*"

TOLERATION.

No. II.

Mr. Editor,

IN your last number, I observed a long piece on the subject of the Phoenix Bonus and Bishop's Fund, under the signature of "Toleration;" a piece, which, in my view, was written with more zeal than knowledge, and more passion than truth. The object of the writer seems to be, to convince the good people of this State, that their Government is partial and unjust; that Yale College, which is our pride and glory, and the Medical Institution connected with it, are mere seminaries of bigotry and intolerance; and that, to make all things right, it is highly proper that \$10,000 of the Phoenix Bonus should be immediately appropriated to the support of a Bishop, and a new Episcopal College established, where the more liberal doctrines of that sect, (particularly the Divine Right of Bishops,) might be duly inculcated and taught. If I have mistaken his object, I feel confident, from the specious name which this ingenious writer has assumed, that he will correct me with all due humility and candour.

Perhaps, Mr. Editor, it is owing to my not having so enlarged views as this writer, that he appears to me to have wholly failed of accomplishing any part of the grand object which he has attempted. Were he to censure the Legislature for ever having listened to the proposition of a Bonus, (a thing which cannot be vindicated on

the ground of either morality or policy,) I should acquiesce : but when he can pass over this, and only blame them for not having appropriated at least a part of this detestable Bonus to the support of Episcopacy, I am astonished at the obliquity of this man's mind, and almost led to doubt the honesty of his statements, and the soundness of his conclusions. He will pardon me, (and I think your readers will also,) if, without minutely pointing out his unfair omissions of facts which were material, I proceed to give a short and condensed statement of the facts on this subject, as they have been once and again proved, to the satisfaction of even candid Episcopalians, before the Legislature.

In the fall of 1813, while the Treasury was groaning under the expenses of the war, a committee of finance recommended to the Legislature, among other sources of revenue, the taking of a fine or tax, upon the granting of Bank charters, for the use of the State.

Before the spring session of 1814, in consequence of that recommendation undoubtedly, the petitioners for the Phoenix Bank circulated printed copies of their petition (a thing rather unusual) all over the State ; in which they offered, if the Legislature would grant them a Bank charter with \$1,500,000 capital, "in conformity to precedents in other States, *to pay into the treasury of this State, for the benefit of the State*, the sum of \$60,000, to be collected by a tax or premium of 4 per centum," &c. In this petition, dated February, 1814, and signed by a great number of names, not one word is said of giving part of the money to the Bishop's Fund, or any other institution. When the petition came before the Assembly, it being thought perhaps that there had not been quite *management* enough to make it go down, the petition was found to have been altered so as to establish a Branch at Litchfield ; and in lieu of the clause above quoted, the following had been substituted :—"And they offer, in conformity, &c. to pay for the privilege of the incorporation herein prayed for, the sum of \$60,000, &c. to be appropriated, *if in the opinion of your Honours it shall be deemed expedient*, in such proportion as by your Honours may be thought proper, to the use of the Corporation of Yale College, of the

Medical Institution in the city of New-Haven, and to the Corporation of the Trustees of the Fund of the Bishop of the Episcopal Church in this State, *or to be otherwise disposed of for the use of the State, or for any purpose whatever, which to your Honours may seem best.*”—The petition, thus altered, though it does not bind the Legislature at all in their appropriation of the money, instead of the respectable list of subscribers to the original petition, had only three names to it, two of whom are Episcopalians, and, I believe, Trustees of the Bishop's Fund. By what authority, and for what purpose, these gentlemen presumed to make this alteration, they can best tell.

In this shape, however, the petitioners arrogantly pointing out to the Legislature how this Bonus *might* be appropriated, the petition passed the Lower House, but was instantly rejected in the Council, on the ground, it is presumed, of the exceptionable clause respecting the appropriation of the Bonus. A committee of conference was appointed from the two Houses: but before they reported, a Bill for a public Act, entirely independent of any petition, and purged of the exceptionable clause, and similar to the one by which the Phoenix Bank is now established, was introduced into the Council, and negatived. It was then introduced into the House of Representatives, and passed in its present form, to which the Council finally agreed. And thus grew up the Phoenix Bank, the child of Intrigue, and the mother of Discord.

From the present charter, it will be seen that the Bank were to “*pay into the treasury of this State, for the use of the State,*” the sum of \$50,000, which sum the State had a right, by the charter, to *subscribe and pay into said Bank, and receive therefor shares in the stock of said Bank, at \$100 a share, transferable at the pleasure of the General Assembly.* In this Act, as in the original petition, the premium given is considered as a tax upon the institution *for the use of the State*: it has (every dollar of which is paid) long since been expended for the use of the State;* and every taxable individual of the

* I consider the Medical College a public institution, and not the foundling of any Sect.

State (together with the evil) has reaped the benefit of it.

But, says this writer, these petitioners had reasonable ground to expect, that the Bishop's Fund would have part of this Bonus, though the Legislature did not *bind* themselves to give it. What these three modest petitioners, who undertook to tell the Assembly how they *might* use this money, expected, I neither know nor care : but this I know, that neither they nor any body else had any *right* to expect, that what was flatly and repeatedly denied them, would be granted. When the bill, which is now the charter of the Bank, and which was introduced because it was thought the Legislature never would grant the petition with three signers, (that petition disclosing too much of the cloven foot,) was on its passage in the Lower House, a member moved to amend it, by inserting something like the clause from the petition alluded to, respecting the appropriation of the Bonus ; but the House, as if determined to guard against all misrepresentations and misconstructions of such men as the writer of "Toleration," rejected the amendment. After the bill passed, a similar attempt was again made in the same House, and met the same fate. Thus the House of Representatives, at the time and on the spot, by two successive votes, did every thing in their power to crush all vain hopes, and decidedly spoke this language to the world ; that with respect to this Bonus, they never meant to, and they never would, make themselves trustees or debtors to the Bishop's Fund, or to any other institution. From the time the insidious petition was first negatived by the Council, during the whole session, till the Bank was finally incorporated by a public Act, independent of any petition ; all they would say, respecting this money, was, "*It shall go into the treasury of this State, for the use of the State.*" They knew, that owing to the expenses of the war, the State wanted money, and that they were legislating for the general interest of the State, and not for the Episcopalians, the Baptists, the Methodists, or Presbyterians, as separate and distinct classes from the great body of their constituents.

In the fall of 1814, an attempt was made, on the part of the Trustees of the Bishop's Fund, to procure what some Churchmen, in the teeth of the above facts, call *their share* of the Bonus. Only *thirty-eight* votes in the House of Representatives countenanced the attempt.

In the spring of 1815, with all the influence which their strange union with Yale College at that time was calculated to produce, they procured in the same body only forty votes against one hundred and twenty-eight.

In the fall of 1815, they collected all their forces; they employed two of the ablest Counsel in the State, who were heard at full length, without any check or restraint, or any one to lisp a syllable in answer to their elaborate statements before both Houses; and the result was, ONE vote for the application in the Upper House, and thirty-nine votes against one hundred and thirty-eight in the House of Representatives—a dead loss of eleven votes in the House, and of all but ONE in the Council, since spring. At every step of the investigation, on this last occasion, the application lost friends; and even many of those whose religious feelings interested them in its favour, were candid enough to acknowledge that their claim was entirely groundless, and any further perseverance in it *worse* than hopeless.

This appropriation, then, which the writer I am answering so much covets, has been most peremptorily negatived on five different occasions, and in as many different shapes, and is finally forsaken by some who were originally its friends, and even by many of those who are most concerned in its support. Did “Toleration” ever know a measure, which had the least foundation in reason or common sense, meet with such overwhelming, and every time increasing, majorities? The truth is, (we hope,) that the age of *intrigue and management* has got the go-by in our Legislature, and that hereafter the doctrine of *expediency*, (always the plea of faction, and always false,) will be made to give way to the doctrine of *right*.

In endeavouring to give a condensed and connected view of this part of the subject, I know I have not inadverted upon all that is erroneous and censurable, in the disjointed piece of “Toleration;” but with respect

to what is omitted, and particularly as to his unwarrantable attack on Yale College and the Medical Institution, if some other writer does not do him justice, he may expect to hear from me again.

No. III.

Mr. Steele,

SIR—Before we exercise our privilege of closing the argument in favour of the Episcopalians to *their* part of the “*detestable Bonus*,” it may not be a work of supererogation to give due notice of the unstable ground on which our opponents stand.

It seems, then, that the management between the Houses, as detailed by your correspondent in the last Herald, was not to avoid receiving the avails of *taxes* from the pockets of the people, into the treasury, by means of the sale of bank charters: it was not to reject the offer of \$50,000 from the two *Episcopal* petitioners of the Phœnix Bank; and it was not to refuse the offer of taxes to carry on the war in which we were then engaged: but this said management had for its object the endowment of that “foundling of a sect,” the Medical Institution, and its *nurseling*, the Lunatic Hospital and State Poor-House, (the boundaries of which, we understand, have been marked out on the land of the gentleman, who sold the house for the Medical College, and who is the treasurer of Yale College;) and that, in fact, it had for its object the building up of one sect, and the keeping *down* of Episcopalians. \$20,000 have been appropriated, not for the relief of the *burdens* of the people in waging war against Great-Britain, but for the *growth* of the Medical Institution: And now the remaining \$30,000 is petitioned for, to establish the Lunatic Hospital and State Poor-House, *with the same test of religious faith*, we presume; and this, too, with the *consent* of the President of Yale College, and with the *influence* of the principal members of the Assembly, who have opposed the claim of the Trustees of the Bishop’s Fund.

Your paper, Sir, will not be occupied by us next week, with the expectation that the vote of the Corpo-

ration of Yale College will be produced, altering *essentially* the creed and vote we published from President Clap's history of that institution; and that proof will be furnished, that Doctor Smith, a principal Professor of the Medical College, did not read in public, a *creed*, as his own, agreeing in the important points with the one we extracted and published from the said records of Yale College.

TOLERATION.

No. IV.

To Connecticut Episcopalians.

IT will be nothing new to inform you, that the petition of the Trustees to your Bishop's Fund, for a part of the 50,000 dollars paid into the treasury by the Phoenix Bank, received its finishing stroke at the late session of the Legislature. A force quite overwhelming, (as the yeas and nays, which have just passed the rounds of the newspapers, inform us,) prostrated the petition on the floor of the House of Representatives. And, as if this were not sufficient—as if it were not enough to strangle our claim in the popular branch of the Legislature; the Hon. Council, to 'make assurance doubly sure,' (as a writer in the last Herald triumphantly tells us,) advanced in a body, and very valiantly belaboured the fallen foe with an almost unanimous vote.

"How if he should prove counterfeit too, and rise? I am afraid he would prove the better counterfeit: therefore I'll make him sure; yea, and I'll swear I kill'd him."

Yes, strange as it may seem, the same members of the same Council, who have apparently, heretofore, been the sworn advocates of your claim—the same men who, on former occasions, voted in favour of what they were then not afraid to term the "equity" of the petition; have, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, bolted from their object, and at once discovered that all their old opinions were erroneous, their former theories fallacious. Sudden conversions, we are told, generally produce the most zealous proselytes. Never was the adage more faithfully fulfilled, than in the case before us. The

mild, the firm, the upright Council of Connecticut, we are to believe, were metamorphosed in a moment—their ideas turned quite around, and, after a short struggle of conflicting feelings, have at last gone home to their constituents, filled with new zeal, and overflowing with fresh fervour, And here the matter should in all conscience have rested. A sight of the legislative drill should not have disturbed our nerves—the marchings and countermarchings, the windings and doublings, of the honourable phalanx, might have passed in silent review before us. But when these manœuvres are puffed off in print, as cause of exultation—when you are told, by way of triumph, that only “ONE” of the Honourable Council was bold enough to re-assert his former opinion—and, above all, when you are tauntingly told, that because the petitioners for the Bank, (many of whom were Episcopalians,) respectfully proposed to give a part of the Bonus for the support of a Bishop; that therefore their petition was “*insidious*”—that it disclosed a “*cloven foot*”—when the venerable Head of our Church is thus impiously compared to the heel of Satan, our adversaries must presume much, very much, upon your forbearance—they must indeed suppose that your nerves are leaden, and your hearts cold and callous as a tomb-stone.

Think you that I am colouring this account too highly? Look for yourselves, at the production of a writer in the last Herald, in answer to an unvarnished statement of facts, which had previously appeared under the signature of “TOLERATION:” and then tell me, if what I have only put here as supposition, is not reality? And for what is all this? Why, *you* have dared; yes, you, Episcopalians, have had the unparalleled impudence to say, that you have an equitable claim to a part of this Bonus; when, in truth, you have no claim in conscience, no equity in your favour: at least, so say the leaders of the Lower House; and so, at last, echo the Honourable Council.

Such an answer to your petition, notwithstanding only “One” refused his assent to it in the Upper House, comes from the honourable body, at least, in rather a

questionable and awkward shape. Crooked and clumsy as it is, however, I regret, (yes, in the sincerity of my soul I regret,) that the Honourable Council had not uniformly held out the same language towards us : we might then, at least, carry with us the consolation, that the Honourable Council, whom most of us have heretofore supported with our influence and our votes, had *consistently* differed with us in opinion.

But how stands this question of *right*, about which so much has been said ? The petitioners for the Phoenix Bank ; the men whose money has since been paid into the treasury ; proposed to pay for their charter, \$60,000 ; one portion of which to be paid to Yale College ; a second cut to the Medical Establishment connected with the College, and a third portion to the *Bishop's Fund*. Our adversaries here tell us, or rather, the adversary of " Toleration " tells the public, that in the winter of 1814, there *was* a petition for a Bank circulated throughout the State, which said not one word about the Bishop's Fund—a case *almost* in point ; but it unfortunately turns out, that this petition, so silent on the subject of the Bishop's Fund, was never brought before the Legislature—a sort of Irish prayer, *never made*. Will the gentleman's logic carry him so far, as to say that this circumstance weakens the equity of our case ; when he himself, in the same breath, is forced to admit that the *only* petition ever known to the Assembly on this subject, contained a proposition to give the Bishop's Fund the proportion above alluded to ? As well might he draw in the fact, that the Yazoo claimants had handed the draft of a petition through the State for subscribers. And as little can the gentleman's sly insinuation avail him, that the three respectable men selected by the applicants to sign the petition, *dishonestly* drafted a petition to answer their individual views. You, I know, will require something more to convince you of the roguery of these men, than an anonymous insinuation, however cunningly it may slant towards you. But we are told that the petition does not " bind the Legislature at all, in their appropriation of the money," because there is a sentence in it which authorizes them, if they choose, to grant the money to any other State

purpose, "which to their Honours may seem best;" and this clause is to operate as a sort of detergent, which cleanses the conscience from any claim that can possibly grow out of the fact of passing the petition.—And is it seriously attempted to gull you by this species of "special pleading?" Ask any man conversant with legislative proceedings, how all petitions are drafted which are brought before the Legislature; and he will tell you, that, as a matter of respect, the prayer of a petition invariably winds up by leaving it at the discretion of the Legislature, "to grant such other relief as to their Honours may seem best;" "or in some other way to grant relief," &c. And this follows as regularly as a man subscribes himself a "humble servant," in his letters. And yet it would be thought rather a strange sort of legislation, after granting the petition of a man, for instance, who prays to have his body freed from arrest, "or for such other relief as to their Honours may seem best," if the same Legislature should sentence him to be shot, by way of granting such "other relief as to their Honours seemed best."

I feel safe, then, in again asserting, that the fair and honest construction of the petition of the Bank applicants, (the men whose money the Treasury has received,) was, that the Bishop's Fund should receive a portion of the Bonus, as well as Yale College, or the Medical Institution connected with the College. This petition, notwithstanding the "exceptionable clause," as anti-"Toleration" calls the proposal for distributing the Bonus, passed the Lower House at that time by a large majority. And although the Upper House voted against the *petition*, yet they at the same session granted a Bank charter to the *Petitioners*, and received from the Bank 50,000 dollars of the identical Bonus, which had been offered in the petition. But we are told again, and again, that the petition was defunct—that it was squeezed to death between the two Houses—and that the money which the Petitioners paid for their charter, went into the treasury, the same as other State funds. How is the fact? The Act incorporating the Bank, as it finally passed, and as it now stands, was the offspring of the Upper House; it originated there, and

there received its finish. Let us then look at the proceedings of the Council, and see in what light *they* looked at the charter, and the Bonus required by it.

Turn to the records of the Council, and you find, that immediately after the Bank was incorporated, and, as it were, on the back of this very charter, a Resolution is drawn up, and passed, (as in good faith it ought to have been,) granting 20,000 dollars to the Medical Establishment of Yale College, and 10,000 dollars to the Bishop's Fund—Not a grant of money in the Treasury, or of "State Funds"—No, they did not at that time act as if they considered the State entitled to the Bonus, except as the trustees of the institutions mentioned in the original petition. The language of the resolution was, that "out of the first monies which shall be paid into the treasury of this State, *in pursuance of the Act incorporating the Phoenix Bank*, the treasurer shall be and he is hereby authorized and required to pay," &c. This resolution, in part, took with the Lower House—they acquiesced in the grant of 20,000 dollars of the money to the Medical Institution; and this sum, as I suppose, has since been paid. Not so, however, with the proposition which was to favour Episcopacy: the 10,000 dollars destined for the Bishop's Fund was (for reasons best known to the gentlemen who opposed it) arrested in its progress by the Lower House—by the same Lower House which had but just before, by a full majority, granted the petition with all its provisions. Here ended the business for the spring session of 1814.

In the fall of the same year, the Trustees to your Bishop's Fund appeared before the Legislature, and asked for a portion of the 50,000 dollars. Their claim was at that time answered various ways. They were told, among other things, that the country was then at war; that the Treasury was in want of the money; and that, however just the claim might be, it could not at any rate be listened to at that time. After the peace, at the spring session of 1815, when the State was relieved from its embarrassments, the claim was again presented. The Honourable Council still remained firm in our favour; and, by a majority of eleven to two, stamped this charter with another declaration, that we were

fairly entitled to 10,000 dollars of the Bonus which it yielded. Indeed, an influential member of the Council at that time, a Presbyterian himself, and now an honourable judge, as I am told, declared, that although we could not maintain an action at law, for the recovery of the money, yet that our claim was as clear in conscience, as any that he could imagine : And, unless I am much misinformed, his Excellency the Governor; who presided at the board at the time the Bank was incorporated, and who was perfectly well acquainted with all the attendant circumstances, has repeatedly expressed himself in terms, nearly as strong as those above recited, in favour of our claim. The Lower House, however, still refused us the money; and, for the honour of our State, I wish the case ended here; but truth compels me to carry you one step further in the history.

At the last October session of the Assembly, the Trustees once more spread their case before the consciences of the Legislature; and, unaccountable as it may seem, the Upper House, with only "one" exception, completely wheeled about in their opinions, and, by a majority "overwhelming" indeed, fell in with the Lower House, and *voted down* the claim, which they had ever before, by a majority quite as "overwhelming," been so instrumental in creating and defending.

A petition is now pending before the Legislature, from the Medical establishment of the College, for the remaining thirty of the fifty thousand dollars; and from the reception it met with, at the last session of the Legislature, we may very safely calculate that the petitioners will receive the balance of the Bonus, at the next session. And you, Episcopalians, in the face of these facts, are told that you have been guilty of an unpardonable sin, for having suggested to a Presbyterian Assembly that you have any just claim, even for a fifth part of the 50,000 dollars. You must be taught to believe that Yale College, with its professions of faith and test creeds, is as much the institution of one sect as another; and that therefore the College, or its branches, ought to have the whole of the Bonus.

Suffer me, however, to ask, Did the vote of the Lower House, on the original petition for the Bank, which paid the money, mean *nothing*? Do the repeated votes of the Council (with all the facts before them) mean *nothing*? Or must you believe, that the Hon. Council only meant to amuse you by bobbing the bait, till you had dangled long enough in their train; and at last to leave you, after flattering you one moment, and flogging you the next? Whatever your *rights* may be, you have at least a right to ask these questions, and a right to demand an answer. If a satisfactory answer can be given, no one will more cheerfully listen to it, than the person who addresses you.

A CHURCHMAN.

No. V.

THE author of the late attack upon the Legislature and literary institutions of this State would make the public believe, that the sect of Christians, of which he appears to be a zealous member, are treated with great intolerance in Connecticut. Does he believe this himself? I fear he does not even know the import of the word "Toleration," which he has taken as his signature. In England, "where bishops wear their mitred fronts in courts and parliament," Episcopacy is established by law; and every officer of the army and navy, and every civil officer, from the king down to a constable, *must* belong to the established church; and is *compelled*, even under the severest penalties, to partake of the sacrament according to the rites of that church; and every *teacher* in endowed schools and colleges, is compelled reverently to frequent the worship of the established church, and declare his conformity to the Episcopal Liturgy; and every man in the kingdom, of whatever denomination, is forced to pay for the support of the Episcopal ministry. And yet, very wise men have thought all this not at all inconsistent with "toleration" to other sects; and I dare say, the writer in question could hardly make up his mouth to pronounce the Church of England intolerant. Not that he would es-

tablish the English code here, if he had it in his power : but I do believe, that his prejudices are so strong on this subject, as to blind him against the faults of his own sect, and make him imagine they are objects of persecution, when they are really in possession of every privilege which they can rationally desire, and which their Fellow-Christians (he must pardon the expression) around them enjoy. The truth is, toleration has never been known any where but in the United States, and nowhere can it be found more universal and more free than in the State of Connecticut. Here we all enjoy an equality of privileges : no sect is excluded from offices : our religious sentiments are left free as air ; and every man is permitted to take his own conscience and the Scriptures as his only rule of faith. Why then does this writer attempt to excite jealousies and quarrelling among the different sects of Christians, and labour to make one party believe they are the subjects of persecutions and oppressions, of which the other party never dreamed ? and, in the midst of the clamour which he makes, ask for the Episcopalians, what no man would ever presume to ask for any other sect ?

He takes it for granted, that Yale College is the college of a sect ; and undertakes to show, that Episcopalians are not admitted to an equal share of privileges in this institution ; and he even involves the Medical Institution in the same condemnation. It cannot be, that the writer speaks the sentiments of the great body of intelligent Episcopalians, on this subject ; at least, if there was any sincerity (as there undoubtedly was) in the declaration of their respectable counsel before the Legislature, that they wished the State could and would do still more than they had ever done for these useful institutions. Perhaps this writer thinks these gentlemen were not sufficiently judicious in the management of their case, and that they ought to have exhibited in terrible array, to the Legislature, the learned languages, the mathematics, philosophy, the belles-lettres, and chemistry, the whole materia medica, and more especially the tools for anatomical dissection, as powerful engines in the hands of Presbyterian Tutors and Professors, for the destruction of Episcopacy ; and, after working up their

feelings by this frightful picture of blood-thirsty persecution and intolerance, to have addressed them on the utter invalidity of Presbyterian ordination, and the enormous danger to the State of admitting men to the pastoral office, who had not been consecrated thereto by some learned Bishop of the Episcopal church. What a strong case this writer has made for the "Bishop's Fund," by just touching the public feeling on the subject of toleration!

Does he know that the Episcopal students in Yale College are not obliged to hear the system of theology which is preached there from the desk, unless it is the wish of themselves or their parents that they should? Or does he think that there is any thing taught in the catechetical lectures, delivered by the venerable President to the Senior Class, once a week, from Vincent as a text-book, that any Christian parent, of any sect, would object to their children's hearing? Or does he think it practicable or expedient, that there should be in that college a distinct Divinity Professor for every distinct sect,—one for the Presbyterians, another for the Episcopalians, another for the Baptists, another for the Seventh-day Baptists, the Methodists, &c.? Or would he have a distinct college for every distinct sect?

But, it seems, there is "a creed or test of religious faith" prescribed for the officers of this college; and the writer quotes the old *formula* from President Clap's History, which he understands is *substantially* in use at this time, and some of the words of which he unfairly quotes in italics, by way of emphasis, and as if he would wish his readers to understand that it is *precisely* in use at this time. Does he say that, in point of fact, men of any denomination, and possessed of common liberality, are excluded from office in that college? Why does he not quote from Dr. Clap the occasion and the reasons of adopting this formula, and tell his readers that it was intended to guard against "Arminian and Prelatic principles?"* as appears, by a vote on the same page, (85,)

* "By Prelatical principles, (says President Clap, p. 54,) I understand the principle, that Prelacy or Episcopacy is of *DIVINE RIGHT* in such an exclusive sense as to *INVALIDATE* all Presbyte-

from which he quotes: "It is especially declared, that if any person shall deny the validity of the ordination of the ministers of this colony, commonly called *Presbyterian* or *Congregational*, or shall hold that it is necessary or convenient that such ministers should be re-ordained, in order to render their administrations valid, it shall be deemed an essential departure from our ecclesiastical constitution, and inconsistent with the intentions of the founders of this college, that such a person should be chosen an officer in it."—Is this to be complained of as too intolerant? Would "Toleration" himself wish to see the Episcopal officers of that college permitted to teach the youth there, that the religion of their fathers was heresy? that the pastors by whom they had been baptized and taught, were usurpers of their sacred office? that nine tenths of the people of this State are out of the pale of the only true Apostolic Church, and do not enjoy the privileges of a valid administration of the Gospel ordinances; because, forsooth, these *can* be lawfully and scripturally administered *only* by men approved and ordained by an Episcopal Bishop?† Did the Presbyterians hold such intolerant and illiberal sentiments as these towards their Episcopal brethren, there would then be some ground of complaint; but they do not. They acknowledge the Episcopal to be a Christian church, and one under whose organization true religion has flourished and may flourish; and only beg to be excused from believing that their Bishops are any more of *divine right* than our Clergy, or that their system of government is any *more* warranted or enjoined by Scripture than our own.

The Government of Yale College and the Medical Institution is not confined by its charter and laws to the Presbyterian denomination. Episcopalians have been, and still are, whenever superior or equal merit entitles them, admitted to the offices, as well as the other honours of those institutions. Did this writer mean to insult his friends who have been officers in that college, by telling them, as he does, that they could not have been officers there, *without* "*abjuring their faith*?"—Dare he hold this language to the venerable Professor of Materia Medica and Botany (an Episcopalian) in the Medical Institution, which in this respect he places on the same ground with the College? It is totally impracticable for any *literary institution*, (and nothing

rian ORDINATION. But the opinion, that Episcopal Government is only most CONVENIENT, or may be complied with as a CIVIL establishment, I suppose the Trustees did not esteem to be inconsistent either with Academical or Christian communion." Does this writer think Dr. Clap understood toleration? I wish he had one half of the Doctor's liberality.

† All Episcopalians do not believe in these harsh tenets; perhaps very few do; but that some do, the writer in question furnishes a lamentable proof.

but bigotry itself would give any other appellation to our college,) to be conducted upon more fair and liberal principles towards all denominations of religion, than Yale College is, and always has been; and he who, with a knowledge of this, can wage Gothic warfare against that institution, is a foe to the best interests of the State. Enlightened Episcopalians do not make this complaint; they gladly send their sons to that seminary to be educated, and rejoice in it as one of the greatest ornaments of our country. No one (I believe) ever knew an Episcopal student turned from his faith there; but on the contrary, more of them, perhaps, in proportion to their number, have been educated for the Episcopal ministry, than of any other denomination for any other particular ministry. President Clap tells us, that in his time, out of 400 clergymen who had been nurtured there, 40 of them, or one tenth of the whole, *were Episcopally ordained*. Can any friend of science, can any liberal man, in view of these facts, think it reasonable, that the scanty patronage which the Legislature, by its pecuniary grants, occasionally extends to Yale College, should be divided up, and apportioned to an Episcopal College, a Methodist College, and, in short, (for the reason is the same in all,) to as many different colleges as there are different sects in the State? Would this be "*toleration*"? or would it be folly and madness? No, this writer cannot have spoken the serious sentiments of his friends: he probably did not comprehend the scope of his own reasoning: for he would find himself as unfortunate in his consequences, as I think he has been shown mistaken and incorrect in his premises. Certainly, it were better for us all, whatever our sect, to join in building up and supporting the noble and liberal University we have, than to undermine it by foolishly scattering its resources among a number of petty colleges, which, from their very foundation, (according to the plan of this writer,) must inevitably all be narrow-minded and *sectarian* institutions.

When this writer says, that the *Medical College* favours Presbyterianism, and that the money granted them by the Legislature is "*paid out to the support of Presbyterianism,*" and insinuates, as he does in a note, that the erection of a "Lunatic Hospital and State Poor-House" with the remaining 20,000 dollars, would be still further in support of Presbyterianism; he appears to me to be the willing dupe of a distempered and green-eyed jealousy. Some Episcopalians, unless their intellects and their purses are exempted from the common calamities of man, may have occasion for one of those institutions at least; and as they are all mortal, like the rest of mankind, it is no disparagement to them to say, there are very few of them but sometimes have need of a Doctor. The digestion of the most healthy is not always good; and the stomach is such a rebellious organ, that a gentle dose is now and then necessary to keep it in any sort of

order. Let us then cherish this seminary of physicians, so useful to all sects, and not trouble ourselves with the visionary notion, that while they prepare genuine medicine only for the Congregationalists, they will administer poisonous and deadly doses to Episcopalians.

In making these hasty remarks upon the piece signed "Toleration," I have not considered the writer as the mouth-piece of his sect, or as speaking the general sentiments of the numerous and respectable members of the Episcopal church. With the great body of them, when the facts of the case are rightly understood, and a due deference is paid to the repeated decisions of the Legislature, I think there can be no dispute. But with those of them, who would make their religion a political engine; who, after all that has taken place, would still degrade it by an indecorous scramble after the paltry sum of *ten thousand dollars*; who cry Toleration, when they mean the aggrandizement of their sect beyond all others; who would involve Religion (which ought to be held sacred by all) in the party animosities of the day, and throw it into the one scale or the other, as shall best help their Fund;—with such men, every good citizen, who stands up for the peace of the State, and the equal privileges of all, must of necessity have a controversy. Their more sober friends will not consider opposition to these men, as opposition to their religion; but will listen to a discussion as to the propriety of taking money from the public treasury to accomplish a particular object, without supposing that those who think the object ought not to be accomplished in this mode, are of course opposed to the object itself, or to its attainment at all events, and in any other more usual or less dangerous mode.

Were this an application on behalf of the Presbyterians, and made under the same or similar circumstances, I think every hand and every voice in the State ought to be raised against it, and for the same reason, ***THAT THE PUBLIC TREASURY NEVER SHOULD BE UNLOCKED FOR THE EXCLUSIVE BENEFIT OF ANY SECT OF CHRISTIANS, HOWEVER NUMEROUS OR RESPECTABLE THEY MAY BE.***

HAMILTON.

No. VI.

To Connecticut Episcopalians.

YOU will perceive, by the last Herald, that the adversary of Toleration, and of Churchmen, has redeemed his pledge; and, after a fortnight's fixing, has, in good faith, come back to the contest, under the name of "Hamilton."

The main object of the gentleman now seems to be, to convince you, by dint of hard pounding, that Yale College is in truth Episcopal; or rather, that it savours as much of Episcopacy as of Presbyterianism: and from these premises he would argue, that your faithful guardians in the Legislature not only were right in giving the Medical Establishment of the College \$20,000, and at the same time refusing you a dollar; but that these faithful guardians ought further to show their sense of justice, at their next session, by turning the remaining \$30,000 into the same college treasury. He admits, however, that there is a creed, which all college officers, from the president down to the butler, must subscribe to, before they can officiate; but still insists that this creed was, originally, only aimed at "Arminian or *Prelatic* principles," and that there is nothing in it at all at variance with the feelings or principles of Episcopalians. Nay, he even accuses "Toleration" of misquoting from President Clap's College History; and very sprightly asks, "Why does he (Toleration) not quote from Dr. Clap, the *occasion* and the reasons of adopting this formula, and tell his readers that it was intended to guard against Arminian and *Prelatic* principles?" (not against Episcopal principles.) This writer certainly never could have driven his pen through this question, unless he had supposed that there was no other copy of Clap's History extant, than the one which is locked up in the archives of the College, and of course inaccessible to Churchmen. Fortunately, however, I happen to have a musty copy of this scarce article by me, and will forthwith proceed both to give you the "*occasion*" and the "reasons," as related by the doctor himself, for the introduction of this touchstone of faith, or religious creed. Mark, now, how plain a tale shall put this man down.

Turn to the same history of President Clap, from page 31 to 34; and you find that, at a certain period, the then president or rector of the college, Dr. Cutler, and one of his tutors, by their own researches, in opposition to the obstinacy of the times and the prejudices of education, read themselves into the belief that Episcopacy was right, and Presbyterianism wrong—In plain words, they turned Churchmen. "This event (says the author whom I quote) was somewhat surprising to the trustees, and to the body of the people; for at that time there was not one Episcopal minister in the colony of Connecticut, and but very few of the laity. Whereupon the trustees met, and passed the following votes:

"*Voted*, That the trustees, in *faithfulness* to the trust reposed in them, do *excuse* the Rev. Mr. Cutler from all further service as rector of Yale College."—Having thus courteously slid the venerable rector from his seat, without any previous request on his part, the trustees proceed to remedy the mischief for the future, by establishing their test creed as follows:

"Voted, That all such persons as shall hereafter be elected to the office of Rector or Tutor in this College, shall, before they are accepted therein, before the Trustees, declare their assent to the Confession of Faith, owned and consented to by the Elders and Messengers of the Churches of the colony of Connecticut, assembled by delegation at Saybrook, Sept. 9th, 1708, and confirmed by Act of the General Assembly; and shall particularly give satisfaction to them of the soundness of their faith, in opposition to Arminian and Prelatic corruptions," &c. And, as if they were not sufficiently secure—again: "Voted, That upon just ground of suspicion of the Rector or Tutor's inclination to Arminian or Prelatic principles, a meeting of the Trustees shall be called as soon as may be, to examine into the case."

Read these votes over again; yes, treasure them in your hearts, and then say, what think you of the liberality of the College towards Churchmen? Do you think this adversary of "Toleration" will again ask for the reasons and "occasion" of establishing the college creed? If so, he shall be treated to a few more choice selections from the same valuable historian. Prelatic and Arminian corruptions! Our adversary undertakes very kindly to instruct us as to the meaning of those terms. You, I believe, are no strangers to their meaning; and are quite competent to construe them, without his assistance, or even the placid annotations of good President Clap. You, I dare say, have often heard people talk about "*Prelatic corruptions.*" The expression is no more nor less than the common slang, which even the modern enemies of the church so often fling in your teeth, when they can find nothing else with which to vilify you.

But further; we are triumphantly told, that the Professor of *Materia Medica*, in the Medical Institution, is an Episcopalian. And why did not the writer also tell us, that the former President Cutler was also an Episcopalian?—and then he would most conclusively have proved that this institution is not the foundling of a sect.

Yes, Episcopalians, I feel a pride and pleasure in acquainting you, that this venerable and learned professor, an ornament to any institution, and any sect, to which the influence of his name may be attached; has, in the evening of his days, like the venerable President Cutler, by his own reflections and researches, overcome the prejudices of education, and, with a magnanimity commensurate with his piety, has enrolled his name among the fathers of the church. Whether the college corporation have yet had a solemn convocation, and, in "fulfilment of their trust," voted to "excuse" this venerable man from any further exercise of his official functions, is more than I can say: but this I can say, that since he became an Episcopalian, this venerable man has never delivered, or attended, a single lecture in the institution—nay, I believe I may further add, that, since that pe-

riod, he has never entered within the walls of College. Now, whether this learned professor has left the College, or the College left him, is a moot point, which it is unnecessary that I should meddle with.

Again, our antagonist, not content with trying to cheat your understandings, by carving out detached sentences from Doctor Clap's History, takes great pains to tell you, that in England, where Bishops wear their mitred fronts in the House of Lords, the officers of the government are obliged to subscribe to the tenets of the church. And what does this prove? Why, if it proves any thing, it is, that the English *government* has committed the same fault as most other monarchical governments: but does it prove any thing against the *church*, or the "Divine right of Bishops," which this adversary so malignantly sneers at? And to cap the climax, we are told, that there is no place on earth "where toleration is more universal and more free, than in the State of Connecticut." True, you are not *now* tythed or taxed for the support of the established order. Some of you, however, may be old enough to remember when the Saybrook Platform, by act of the General Assembly, was the touchstone of faith. And many of you can remember when *you*, yes, *you*, Churchmen, were taxed for the building of meeting-houses,* and for the support of the Presbyterian clergy. The law abolishing the old system of society taxation, was only passed in the year 1784; and the recollection of this old system, doubtless, will nerve you to resist its return in any shape it may assume—Yes, meet the mischief in its beginning, and "snuff its progress in every tainted gale."

Thus much for the Episcopacy of England, and the Episcopacy of the College.

I cannot, however, close this communication, without spreading before you a few more observations on the subjects embraced by my last address. You have been so often told that the Council voted against the petition for the Phoenix Bank, on the ground of the clause relating to the Bonus, (when in fact their objections to the petition were levelled solely at the extravagant capital prayed for,) that many believe it, because they will not take the trouble to inquire into the facts.—My last communication informed you, that the Upper House, when they originated the bill for the incorporation of a bank, with one million of dollars, (a capital one third less than was prayed for, though the act in other respects follows the terms of the petition,) they immediately afterwards followed the charter, with a proposition to distribute the Bonus according to the prayer of the petitioners. This, to be sure, did not much look as if

* Query.—What is the difference between taxing Churchmen for the building of meeting-houses, and taking their money to build Presbyterian Colleges?

they were opposed to distributing fairly the "detestable bonus," as it has since been called. But accompany me a little further—follow the zigzag course of the Bonus, till you come to the spring session of the Legislature, 1815; and you there find that the Upper House, (aye, the same Upper House which we are now told only happens to be of a different opinion,) originated a bill and passed it, by a vote of *eleven to two*, not only granting \$10,000 to the Bishop's Fund, according to the views of the original bank petitioners; but, as if to prevent all mistake, to clear up all doubts as to their ever having been opposed to the Bonus clause of the petition, they expressly buttressed this bill, both on the *petition* and the charter; and, by a long explanatory preamble, declared, openly and unequivocally, that they appropriated the money by virtue of the original bank *petition*, as well as the bank charter, which followed the *petition*. And yet your adversaries tell you, that although the petition for the bank passed the Lower House by a large majority, yet that it was instantly rejected in the Council, "on the ground of the exceptionable clause respecting the appropriation of the Bonus;" and that the present act, incorporating the Phenix Bank, "was passed independent of any petition." Really, when men offer you such arguments, in the face of such facts, it is an insult, tenfold greater to your understandings, than to tell you that Yale College is in justice entitled to the whole of the Bonus. Do you doubt, whether there was in truth such a preamble to the grant, as the one alluded to? Make your appeal, then, to the honourable Council themselves, or to any honourable member of the Council.

Taking, then, for truth, (for the present,) the grant, and the preamble above stated, what in the name of wonder were the weighty reasons which influenced their honourable minds, only four months after this solemn declaration, with only one dissenting vote, (the Hon. Mr. Johnson,) to say that you ought not to have a dollar of the money? No reasons, as I have heard, have yet been given to the public; though I have no doubt there were reasons for this, to us, seeming inconsistency; and I am afraid that we shall not be able, easily, to obtain the reasons assigned by the honourable Council, at the time this last vote was passed, because there is no reporter of the debates; and the discussions and votes of the Council, you know, are always with closed doors. It is to be hoped, however, if the contemplated grant of the remaining \$30,000 to the Medical Institution, should take effect at the next session, in conformity to the petition which so modestly trod on the heels of your claim; especially if the bill, making the appropriation, should originate in the Upper House; that their Honours will head the bill by a preamble, similar to the one I have alluded to, explaining the why and the wherefore of the grant; and if the General Assembly will only

consign both preambles, the former and the latter, to the archives of the college, along with the money, I will cease to assert any further claim to the Bonus.

But why should we pursue the subject further? It is meekly suggested by our adversary, in the last Herald, that we ought now to renounce our claim, and let the College have the money. The sum, we are told, is but a "paltry 10,000 dollars; and *you* have had your share; yes, you have had the glitter and the jingle; but the substantials must be appropriated to the grand objects of the University. And as for the Council, it is an honourable body, made up of honourable men; a sort of "touch me not." It is wrong, it is a second sort of blasphemy, to examine their acts. Yes, according to this writer, your feelings must be fettered; your lips locked; for if you presume to lisp a syllable about the rights of Churchmen, you are branded as a "faction," and held out to the public as men who have laid their religion on the altars of party. Go then, and learn to forget—yes, forget—and be forgotten yourselves.

A CHURCHMAN.

No. VII.

MR. STEELE,

Sir—We have asserted, that a *religious test of faith* is required of the officers of Yale College and of the Medical Institution: and we have produced the creed and vote of the college, adopted in 1753, which exclude from office *those only* who believe in the divine right of Bishops; and we have called for the vote of the college annulling or essentially altering this creed and vote. Did it exist, the writer under the signature of "Hamilton" manifests a disposition to give it to the public. He is *probably* a Professor in the Medical Institution, and was formerly a Tutor in the mother college; and, if so, copies of the creeds for both institutions must be in his possession.

But, instead of furnishing the public with evidence that these creeds do *not* exist, he only *blames* us for not laying before our readers, the "occasion and reasons" assigned for the adoption of this exclusive test of faith: he, in truth, admits and justifies its existence; he glories in the exclusion of those who conscientiously believe in the divine institution of Episcopacy, as explained by President Clap. In what, then, consists our "unwarrantable attack" upon Yale College and its foundling? This professor, perhaps, would feel *some* sensation, if the creed was directed *against* those who believe, that "by the decree of God, for the manifestation of his glory, some men and angels are predestinated unto everlasting life, and others fore-ordained to everlasting death—these angels and men, *thus* predestinated and

fore-ordained, are particularly and unchangeably designed, and their number is so *certain* and *definite*, that it cannot be either *increased* or *diminished*.”* This exclusion extends to another world.

Suppose we admit, as we believe, that the British government has in many respects *abused* Episcopacy; has not Presbyterianism been abused in Scotland, where it has been established? and in this State, where it *was* established by law? What good thing is not liable to abuse? Ought an Episcopalian, then, to be excluded from office in a country where “toleration has *only* been known; and in Connecticut, where, in no part of the United States, it can be found more *universal* and more *free*?”—“Here we all enjoy, says ‘Hamilton,’ an *equality* of privileges: no sect is excluded from offices: our religious sentiments are left free as air; and every man is permitted to take his own conscience and the Scriptures as his *only* rule of faith.”

Allow us, Mr. Steele, to state it to be a fact, that, within 12 months, no Physician can be *examined* for a license, (which license gives the power of *legally* charging and collecting fees for his services,) without studying at the Medical Institution of Yale College during *one* course of lectures, or at some other public institution, which other institution must of course be *out* of the State. And we also declare it to be a fact, that no *honorary* degree in medicine can be conferred, (which *honorary* degree is always obtainable, when the student has remained *two* years at the Medical Institution, has procured a license, and has been recommended by the committee,) *without the signature of the President of Yale College*: and for proof that we are not incorrect in this declaration, we refer to the law establishing the Medical Institution, passed at the fall session of 1810.

The Medical Society, it is feared, is tottering on the verge of ruin. It will soon be considered as a useless and troublesome burden; and its remaining signs of life will shortly disappear.

The Students at Law, as well as those of Medicine, will very speedily, we believe, be compelled to receive degrees of the *same* gentleman! And should our belief be verified by fact, respecting the law students, who will then have the hardihood to assert, that the Presbyterians would enjoy all the benefits, without the odium, of a RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENT? Divinity, Physic, and Law!—The three learned professions under the guidance of one person and his creed, and that creed the Saybrook Platform! But no *establishment*.

TOLERATION.

* Saybrook Platform, 22d page.

No. VIII.

BISHOP'S BONUS.

IT ought to be held in mind, by all the writers on this subject, that the question at issue can never receive a satisfactory answer from any considerations of a personal nature, or from an appeal to the different religious tenets of the parties. After these topics are consumed, there will still remain to be decided, the real question about which there can be any rational dispute;—a question, permit me to add, which equally concerns the Jew and the Gentile,—the Churchman and the Presbyterian. The dispute about the Bishop's Bonus is certainly no way connected with matters of religion. It has nothing to do with toleration,—with the Church of England,—with President Clap's formula,—or with the present internal police of Yale College. When the subject is once stript of these adventitious considerations, the writers who have preceded me will be surprised to find how little space the legitimate controversy will occupy. The transaction to which it refers, does not interfere, in the least degree, with the theological differences between the Presbyterians and Episcopalians,—and would, indeed, remain in exactly the same predicament, were we to substitute, for the real names of the parties, the unmeaning letters of the alphabet. This device is often resorted to, in conducting the details of fictitious legal controversies; and I am inclined to think it would have brought the present question to a much speedier termination, had the same expedient been adopted in carrying on its discussion.

But let us come more immediately to the matter in dispute. As every body knows the transaction from which the controversy has arisen, it will be unnecessary to give a detailed account of it here. All I shall attempt to do in this paper, therefore, will be to weigh the reasoning employed by the abettors of the Legislature,—and to offer one or two considerations in favour of an appropriation to the Bishop's Fund.

The transaction of the Legislature, relative to the Bonus of the Phoenix Bank, is represented by the writers to whom I am opposed, pretty nearly as follows:—An association of individuals petitioned the General Assembly of Connecticut to incorporate a new banking establishment at Hartford; offering, as a condition on which they would receive a charter, to appropriate a bonus of \$50,000, partly to the Academical, partly to the Medical Institution of Yale College, and partly to the Fund of the Bishop of Connecticut. Upon these terms, however, the Legislature refused to grant the prayer of the petitioners; but were willing, at the same time, to give the charter in question,—provided only, that the bonus should be *paid into the Treasury of the State*, unencumbered with any conditions of previous appropriation. That this is the state of the case, according to the

writers under consideration, must be quite manifest to every person who attends to the language which they uniformly hold on this subject, and particularly to the last sentence of "Hamilton," [page 27,] which, as it was a fundamental position that he wished not to be misunderstood, he has caused to be distinguished in conspicuous capitals. "*The PUBLIC TREASURY* (says he) *should never be unlocked* for the exclusive benefit of any sect of Christians, however respectable or numerous they may be." Thus, then, the transaction was a simple contract between the petitioners for the Bank, and the legislators of the State; a contract which might, according to this view of the case, have been cast into a shape somewhat like the following:—"For, and in consideration of the sum of 50,000 dollars, We, the people of the commonwealth of Connecticut, do promise and engage to grant and give to our petitioners, A, B, C, &c. a charter to a banking institution, to be entitled the Phoenix Bank." The contract was a fair one; but the petitioners *got the bargain*. There is many a knot of wealthy individuals in this State, who would be willing to *buy* a bank at a much dearer rate; and our legislators might, after taking this step, convert the Legislative Hall into an Auction Room.

But, if this representation be correct, the transaction is liable to an imputation still more disparaging than that of a mere matter of bargain and sale. How far, think you, is such a procedure from a case of "open and apparent" bribery? What other name is there in the English language, which can be applied to a transaction of this nature, entered into by parties circumstanced as they are in this proceeding? I hardly dare trust myself in drawing out this conclusion to the full length and breadth that is warranted by the premises: but I must go so far as to say, that, if these writers be correct, the Legislature of this State have been engaged in a business which approaches very near to palpable corruption. I will not say, they have fallen down the precipice; but I do believe they have trodden on its brink. And are we to conclude, that the legislators of Connecticut, (renowned as they are, all over the Union, for inflexible integrity, and a steady attachment to just principles,) have been engaged in a proceeding which bears upon its face almost every feature of bribery,—the very highest crime (next to treason) in the scale of legislative transgression? "Tell it not in Gath!" They never were accessory to such a sin as this; and the writers who have shown them in this light, have strangely mistaken the real nature of the transaction.

That our legislators never considered the Bonus in question as a payment into the treasury of the State, is clear from the fact, that, as soon as the money was received, they proceeded to make appropriations almost precisely similar to those which had been suggested by the petitioners for the Bank. 20,000 dollars

were divided between the Academical and Medical Departments of Yale College. Now, the writers who maintain that the Bonus *was* actually a payment into our treasury, must, to save their consistency, represent this distribution of \$20,000, not as an *appropriation* of that Bonus, but as a *donation* from the State to the College in our city. In short, according to "Hamilton" & Co., the Bonus was swallowed up by the treasury, and can no longer be subject to a distribution under the name of *appropriation*. Now, my fellow-citizens, look steadily at this representation for one moment. If the \$20,000 given to Yale College was not considered as an appropriation of a part of the Bonus, how came it to pass that our legislators, who had heretofore given nothing of consequence to this literary institution, should all at once relax their gripe upon the public funds, and become so liberal as to make a donation to the two parts of the seminary, of no less than two-fifths of the Bonus? Why, above all, should they have chosen to make this generous donation at a time when every sinew of the State, and every penny of the treasury, was in requisition for the defence of our maritime frontier? Would any man in his senses, when the storm was ready to break over his head, be spending his time and his money to procure a philosophical apparatus, and books upon electricity, while he ought to be erecting a thunder-pole? What one man would not do in his senses, let it not be pretended would be done by 230 grave legislators.

What adds great weight to this reasoning, is, that apparently, the only excuse which could be given for a refusal to make the appropriation to the Bishop's Fund, was, that the money was absolutely required for the defence of the State;—an excuse which carried in its very heart a promise to make the appropriation in question as soon as the tempest had gone by. It was taken for granted, in short, both within, and without, the walls of the State-House, that the bonus of the petitioners for the Bank was not a payment into the treasury of Connecticut, but a donation from the Phœnix Bank to the several institutions to which it had been appropriated.

But let us carry our investigation a little further, and see whether the refusal of the Legislature to grant the Bishop's bonus can be reconciled to the rule which mutually governs all parties in every sort of promise and contract. This is, according to Paley, that "*Whatever is expected by one side, and known to be expected by the other, is to be deemed a part or condition of the contract.*" Now, in order to discover what was in this case expected by the petitioners, and known to be so expected by the legislators, let us recur to the conduct of the parties at the time when this contract or promise took place. What then, let me ask, was the reason for refusing to grant the charter to the Phœnix Bank upon the terms originally contained in the peti-

tion? Were there any specific objections to the appropriation urged as a reason for that refusal? Was there, in short, a single complaint in the mouth of any one against the distribution of the bonus, as it had been made by the petitioners? On the contrary, was there not a manifest disposition to favour the appropriation to the Bishop's Fund, through all the branches of the Legislature? Did not this disposition, in the first stages of the business, seem to form a kind of *running accompaniment* to all the deliberations of both Houses of Assembly?—What, then, it may be further asked, was the reason that the Legislature rejected the petition in its original shape? Solely, I answer, because there seemed to be a kind of impropriety in suffering a set of individuals, under no authoritative association, to dispose of a sum of money which they had promised to give to the support of public institutions, as an equivalent for a charter of a banking establishment. It seemed to be a kind of usurpation of the legislative prerogative;—and though there was no objection to the appropriation as it stood in the original petition, yet it ought to be made in the name of the State government. This then was apparently the understanding of the two parties,—or, at all events, it was so understood by the Legislature; for I can see no other rational excuse for the refusal of the first petition; since, as I said before, they did not, in their first deliberations on this subject, oppose any objections to the Bonus of the Bishop.

In order to clear this question of all room for religious dispute, and to exhibit it in its simple, unsophisticated form, let us suppose for a moment that we live under an absolute monarchy. A comes to his sovereign B, with a petition for a charter to a bank,—promising, as a condition to the grant, that he will distribute a bonus of 50,000 dollars among the three institutions, C, D, E. “No,” says B, “it would not do for me to grant your petition in this form. The distribution of the bonus you offer, is not properly committed to the hands of a private individual; and although I have now no objection to the appropriation as you have made it, yet that appropriation ought to be under the name of the government. And, betwixt you and I, this is exactly the appropriation which I shall make, if you alter your petition so as to throw that part of the business on my shoulders.” “O well,” says A, “it makes no difference to me, in whose name the appropriation is made; and I am perfectly willing to take the charter on the conditions which your Majesty has suggested. But if I thought the distribution would be altered after the money has been consigned to your Majesty’s hands”——“Give yourself no uneasiness about that. The appropriation, as you have made it, is not, so far as I can see, liable to any valid objection.” Now suppose that his Majesty, after this mutual agreement, had proceeded to make the appropriations to C and D,

but absolutely refused to give a penny to E,—let me ask “Hamilton,” if he had been the petitioner, in what kind of language he would have addressed the throne? Would he not have expostulated with his Majesty, in something like the following manner?

“When I had the honour to lay a petition at the feet of your Royal Highness, praying for a charter to a banking institution, your Royal Highness will recollect that it was expected by me, and, as I humbly conceive, known to be so expected by your Royal Highness, that the appropriations of the bonus which I had the honour to offer, were to be made according to the plan which was laid out in the original petition: But whereas, it has pleased your Majesty to alter and modify the appropriation of your humble petitioner, so as to deprive E altogether of that part which your petitioner had originally assigned to it,—your petitioner would therefore humbly pray that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to distribute the bonus according to the original understanding of his Royal Highness and his humble petitioner,” &c.

There is one question relative to this subject, which I wish might be answered by “Hamilton” or his associates. Suppose the Legislature, after getting the \$50,000 in its possession, had appropriated the greater part of it to erect (for instance) a new Fort at the mouth of our harbour,—leaving Yale College, in vulgar parlance, *to take care of itself*, as they have uniformly done heretofore; would a single honest mouth have been shut? Would not such a proceeding have revolutionized our Legislature? How many members, think you, would have retained their seats?—There is no room here for any *religious* considerations. A part of the Bonus of the Phœnix Bank was given, by the petitioners, to the Fund of the Bishop of this State. To him, therefore, the Legislature was as much bound to appropriate 10,000 of the 50,000 dollars, as they were to distribute the 20,000 to the Academical and Medical Institutions of Yale College.

I wish it to be distinctly understood, that I am decidedly opposed to any scheme by which the public funds of the State shall be turned to the exclusive advantage of any religious sect. No rational man would think of abetting such a scheme; and perhaps no man but “Hamilton” himself would have supposed that the Episcopalians, in petitioning for their Bonus, were acting in conformity with such a system. All they want, is, that a donation from any set of individuals, to any institution whatever, should not be locked up in the public treasury of the State, because formality required that it should be made in the name of the Good People of Connecticut.

LOKMAN.

No. IX.

To Connecticut Episcopalians.

ALTHOUGH no Episcopalian myself, I have too much respect for you, to suppose that it is at all necessary, on that account, to crave your indulgence, or make any mawkish apologies for addressing you. The same liberty of speech, which you would approbate in an Episcopalian, you have too much good sense to deem improper and offensive in a Presbyterian; and it is not the name which a writer assumes, nor the sect to which he belongs, which will determine your judgment as to the force of his reasoning, or the justness of his sentiments. Whoever addresses himself to your feelings, and not to your understandings, and would stun your ears with declamation for lack of argument, let him belong to what sect he will, forfeits all right to your confidence, and cannot put in that claim to your attention, which *he* may boldly urge, who submits to you facts that are indisputable, and offers to you such reasons only as he thinks are incontrovertible.

In a free country, openly professing a religion which you reverence beyond all others; enjoying a toleration unknown to the founders of the English church; with no one who has even a disposition, much less the power, to molest you in your civil or religious privileges; where (to use a hackneyed metaphor) the doors of public confidence are thrown wide open for your admission; an unhallowed attempt is making to impress you with the belief, that you are the objects of jealousy to your fellow-Christians, and the victims of a most unjust and relentless persecution. Be not surprised, and wrong me not by supposing I mean any imputation upon you, when I tell you that the authors of this attempt are within your own bosom. No church on earth is pure—every one is infested with its own bigots and zealots, who think theirs is the *only* road to heaven, and that all who are without the pale of their communion, are aliens and outcasts from the true religion, and assiduously seeking its destruction. There have been found men among the Dissenters from the Church of England, who, in the fervour of religious controversy, could contend that the government of the church by bishops must be ecclesiastical tyranny; and a written liturgy, however excellent, no better than a solemn and lifeless mockery. There have also been found men in that Church, who arrogated to themselves distinction; who could contend, that every ecclesiastical office among the Dissenters was an usurpation, because not conferred by the authority of a bishop; that dissenting meeting-houses were unsanctified places, because not consecrated by an Episcopal bishop; and that all extemporaneous prayer, though breathed from the very soul of piety, was

sacrilegious and profane. If there be any such fanatics as these amongst us, who think that true religion is confined exclusively to their own sect, and cannot exist except under their own rites and forms of worship; we have to lament that the clouds, which for so many ages overhung the Church, are not yet completely dispersed by the glorious sun of the Reformation, and that some men are to be found, even in this age and country, who love darkness rather than light. But let not these men attempt to extend the empire of darkness beyond their own minds: let them brood over the phantasms of their own disordered vision; but never let them attempt to poison and embitter the minds of two great bodies of Christians with jealousies and animosities towards each other, and disturb that religious peace and harmony, which has so happily existed among us since our Revolution. If we exercise Christian charity towards each other, we shall continue to dwell together as brethren; but if we distort and misrepresent each other's professions and conduct, there is an end of all religious intercourse between us, and our bond of union is severed for ever.

You will not believe that the Presbyterians act without motive, and without regard to their own interest: and I would ask you, what possible motive or interest they can have, in exercising any intolerance towards the Episcopalians? Surely all history tells us, that they have been too much the objects of persecution themselves, (I need not tell you by whom,) not to have discovered that persecution is the most direct way to build up its object, and is, in reality, the most effectual patronage. They certainly know, that your religion, in all its most grand and essential doctrines, is the same as theirs; and that, with regard to forms of government and modes of worship, if yours cannot retain a majority in England, where it is supported by the whole strength of a monarchical government, it probably never will acquire a majority here, among republicans, whose first principle it is, on this subject, that no religion is to be imposed upon us by government, or to draw to its aid the revenue of the State. No! Presbyterians are not jealous of you, and feel no interest in oppressing you. They have seen issuing from your church, in Great-Britain, Martyrs in Religion, Giants in Learning, Apostles in Piety, and Heroes in Christian Courage, mingling in the great and terrible conflict with Antichrist and his followers, and boldly encountering the embattled hosts of Infidelity and Illuminism, until the banner of the Cross waved in triumph over their prostrate foes. And think you they do not feel grateful for all this, and that they are unwilling to pay a due reverence to a church that has done so much in the cause of their Saviour? Have not the Presbyterians, as well as many other sects, all fought manfully in the same cause? Have we not all substantially the same faith? Have we not one Bible,—one Atone-

ment,—one Saviour? And do we not look for *one and the same heaven*?

Is it not then to be regretted, that there are some amongst you, who are setting up the causeless cry of Persecution, and endeavouring to persuade you that the government of the State are trampling on your rights, and feel hostile to your interests?—who tell you, that all the Literary Institutions in the State are *favouring* Presbyterianism; and that even the contemplated Hospital and Alms-House for the reception of lunatics and paupers, will be “still further in support of Presbyterianism,” because* (and this is the best evidence they have yet offered you) the site for these buildings has been chosen on the land of a Presbyterian gentleman, who is the treasurer of Yale College? As well might they exclaim against the establishment of a Cotton Factory or a Bank, as institutions *favourable* to Presbyterianism, because these are found in many instances to be owned by, and under the direction of, Presbyterian stockholders and officers. Who can read the effusions of these men, and not exclaim, “O judgment! thou hast fled to brutish beasts, and men have lost their reason!” When you see the absurdities of such writers exposed, the whole scope of their feeble reasonings laid open, their misrepresentations and false colourings detected, their slanderous attacks and unjust insinuations scornfully repelled, themselves writhing under the severity of just criticism, or smarting under the lash of well-deserved ridicule; be not alarmed for your religion—your ark does not rest on such feeble shoulders—you have never committed your altar to such defenders.

Confident I am, that these men, blown up with a mistaken idea of their own importance and abilities, are mere volunteers, and come, uncalled for, uncommissioned, into the field, with weapons which it is impossible they should have ever drawn from the arsenal of the Episcopal Church. Scurrility is not a very Christian weapon, nor a persuasive kind of argument; and mistatements, though they may for a while mislead those who have little knowledge and less reflection, will inevitably, in the end, involve their authors in confusion and defeat. When solemnly appealed to by these writers, can you say in your consciences, that you feel the pressure of persecution, or that you

* Because Yale College *has* furnished the Medical Institution with *her* creed, and because *her* officers expect to be rewarded with salaries in these establishments. As to the *site* for these buildings, and *that* of the Mother College, we have heard rumours, that the Treasurer (who said in city meeting, when Temple-street was to be straitened, that he *had been* as *public* spirited in behalf of our City, as any man in it) contemplates *injuring* his lands, by getting the colleges pulled down or sold, and *rebuilt* on his Avenue. This is contemplated by the Treasurer of Yale College, without regard to private interest.—PUZZISHER.

believe the Legislature of Connecticut would designedly injure a hair of your heads, or rob you of a farthing of your rights? Does not this Legislature emanate, every few months, from the people, and owe their existence merely to the breath of an enlightened people, to whom they are responsible for their every act? and can you be made to believe, by the intemperate declamation of anonymous scribblers, that, thus situated, they would act upon *sectarian* principles, and refuse you the pitiful sum asked for, provided the claim rested upon any solid foundation?

I am not a believer in legislative infallibility: On the contrary, I know, as in the case of the Phoenix Bonus for instance, they are often wheedled and hurried into measures which their more sober judgments would condemn: but I do not yet believe that a Connecticut Legislature was ever knowingly and wilfully guilty of corruption* or oppression. Nor will you very readily believe this, on the vague surmises and garbled statements of prejudiced men, whom you do not know, especially when you remember that the Legislature have acted with a full knowledge of all the facts respecting the application for the Phoenix charter, and the manner in which that charter passed, and with a full view of all the records and votes on the subject; and that, thus acting, they have deliberately and repeatedly, and with majorities every time approaching nearer and nearer to *unanimity*, decided that the claim of the Trustees of the Bishop's Fund is not made out against the State. Knowing these facts, as they do, suppose they were to grant the application, what account of their conduct could they give to their constituents, on their return home? Suppose they were asked, Why have you selected the Episcopal Bishop as an object of legislative bounty,† when you have never granted any thing from the treasury for the support of the ministry of any other sect? Think you their consciences would be satisfied with giving such an answer, or that the good people of this State would be satisfied with such an answer, as might be sought, or culled out, from the writings which have appeared under the signatures of "Toleration" and "A Churchman?" Even you, yourselves, if you have faithfully investigated the facts in dispute between us, would not, I think, deem such an answer very satisfactory, or

* See the word "morality," on the first line of the 5th page; and the words "detestable bonus" in the fourth line of the same page.—PUB.

† Episcopalians ask of the Assembly to *appropriate* a fifth part of the Phoenix premium to the Bishop's fund; two fifths of the same Phoenix premium, being already *appropriated* (not *granted*) "out of the first monies which shall be paid into the Treasury of this State in pursuance of the act incorporating the Phoenix Bank." See 5th page. They ask not for a *grant* as a *bounty*, but for two fifths of an unappropriated sum of money—one third of which was *offered* to the Bishop's fund by the petitioners of the Phoenix Bank.—PUB.

very creditable to the man who would give it as the reason for his vote. Look at the facts yourselves, as detailed in my first number, none of which have yet been contradicted : and only read the statute incorporating the Phoenix Bank ; and I am sure you will require something more than has yet been produced, to shake your confidence in your Legislature. You will be satisfied, that the real ground of all this clamour against the Legislature, is, that instead of accepting the Bonus on terms that were meant as a bribe to the members, they, like good and trusty servants of the public, preferred to turn it into treasury "for the benefit of the State." Some of your number, who have been members of the Legislature, have given the sanction of their votes to this disposition of the bonus, and their negative to the application for the Bishop's Fund ; and others, who were in the galleries, listening to the debates, have acknowledged that justice has been done to the Church.

I have always thought that Episcopacy, from its very constitution, was friendly to good government, and opposed to faction of every kind : and never expected to see any of its professed advocates clamorously appealing from the Legislature to the People, from the "powers that be" to the many-headed multitude. It has also been the boast of this religion, in England at least, that it was friendly to learning : but now we see some of its professors, unauthorized as we hope, attacking and vilifying the Legislature for having done their duty ; and then, with hostile step, invading the peaceful interests of learning. With respect to the colleges, however, they argue in the face of universal experience, and in the teeth of facts which are known to every one, and which ought for ever to silence their complaints, and make them blush at their own impotence.

Episcopalians of Connecticut ! Scrutinize,* as closely as you

* Here the Editor of the Herald suppressed some remarks on the jacobinical tendency† of the pieces on behalf of the Fund, and the impropriety of printing them in a Federal Newspaper. In Hamilton's first number, he published also, "unwarrantable" for "jacobinical" attack on Yale College. This he had a right to do.

Compiler of Hamilton's pamphlet, page 42.

† *Jacobinical* tendency, indeed ! What was the tendency of seven pieces which appeared in the Herald soon after the "detestable bonus" was accepted by the Assembly, attacking the Phoenix Commissioners by name, and the Legislature ? And, of two pieces, which led the way in the Journal, comparing our Assembly to that of Georgia, in the Yazoo affair ? This was not "appealing from the powers that be ! ! ! " Oh, no ! An Episcopalian was one of the Commissioners. Then, this was *anti-jacobinical*. Two of the petitioners were also Episcopalians. Then, this was "friendly to good government." "Phoenix Bank, the child of Intrigue and mother of Discord !" See the second paragraph of the 12th page.

If we should substitute Eagle Bank instead of Phoenix Bank ; if we should say that the Treasurer of Yale College and the President of the

please, the conduct of your Legislature ; and if on suitable examination, you find they have done wrong, arraign them, if you please, at the bar of the public, where they will not shrink from an inquiry into their conduct : but let this be done with decency and candour, not with foul-mouthed scurrility and insidious detraction. Let the impeachment be committed to men who have talents enough to understand the evidence, and make at least a connected, intelligible statement of the facts, and who will not abandon the question to indulge in personal rancour, or content themselves with re-asserting, every week, arguments and propositions which have been triumphantly refuted the week before. Such men only injure the cause they espouse ; and, not understanding when an issue is closed, they continue to write on in the dark, and fight as one who beateth the air, till their friends are ashamed any longer to acknowledge them, and they stand self-exposed and condemned before the public.

Eagle Bank with *half* the Capital Stock, took *half* the number, or 91 Shares to themselves ; if we should say that the officers of Yale College were taken good care of in the distribution by the Treasurer ; if we should say that the families of both gentlemen were not without ample provision ; if we should say, that a *Merchant* ought to be president of the Eagle Bank ; if we should say, that the State ought to support their Judges, without compelling them to mingle in mercantile concerns ; if we should say, that since the appointment of directors, that the Eagle and Phoenix Bank have been conducted upon honourable principles, and done much good to the agricultural and mercantile interests ; Yes, if we should assert any of these to be facts, a nomination to office by the Judge would be our reward!!

The President of the Eagle Bank will recollect his *nomination* for Councillor of the author of the said seven pieces, who abused the Derby and almost all the Banks in the State, and who said that should he die in a foreign land and be buried in the *same* monument with a Prince, he desired no other epitaph for his services rendered in composing these pieces, than that of a "Freeman of Connecticut." What honours will be bestowed upon Hamilton for his attack, not *Jacobinical*, upon Episcopacy and the Legislature, for taking the Bonus, by the Judge of the Superior Court, are as yet in embryo.

Hamilton has introduced the subject of the *detestable bonus* ; it may seem *hardy* at this *late* hour to appear in *behalf* of the Legislature in establishing a precedent in levying a tax upon the grant of Bank charters for the benefit of public Institutions ; which was done by them when they incorporated the Phoenix Bank.

Pennsylvania has two millions of Banking capital which was obtained for the grant of Bank charters : New-York has been able in this mode to relieve the people in a great degree from every other kind of taxation ; and Massachusetts receives annually 1,200,000 dollars, from the *first* granting, the renewal, and from an annual tax upon Banks. They are monied institutions, and can more readily pay taxes than farmers and mechanics. Banks have been considered as fair objects of taxation for the support of government, we believe, in all the other States in the Union. And what good reason can be produced to satisfy the mind that *privileged* bodies of men ought not to be taxed, *when* they are invested with privileges ?—PUB.

In my preceding numbers, I have attempted to lay the argument respecting the appropriation of the Phoenix Bonus fairly before you and the public : and until the writers who pretend to attack that argument, can dress themselves into some sort of decency, or some other writer, with more judgment and ability, shall take up the subject in opposition to me, I think I may cheerfully submit the question, with these remarks, to your candid decision.

HAMILTON.

No. X.

Mr. Steele,

A VERY angry and virulent attack on Yale College has been made in several late numbers of the Herald, on account of the test imposed upon the officers of that seminary, at their inauguration. Controversy is, perhaps, always to be dreaded as unfavourable to truth : yet, when subjects of general interest are greatly misrepresented, and wrong impressions are studiously attempted to be made on the public mind, even controversy should be hazarded as a less evil than might result from the unrestrained prevalence of falsehood.

What, then, is the charge so furiously urged against our College ? or, what is there in its constitution and practice, which can subject it to the heavy imputation of intolerance ? According to one communication, signed ‘ Toleration,’ every instructor, on his induction into office in that institution, declares his belief, that the *Westminster Catechism*, and the *Saybrook Confession of Faith*, are just summaries of Christian doctrines ; and likewise declares his assent to the mode of church government adopted by the Congregational churches in this State.—This test, it is asserted, operates to exclude Episcopalians from all collegiate offices ; as no one of that denomination can make these declarations, without “ abjuring” his faith.

This, as I understand it, is the objection in its full extent. As such it shall be considered. My object will be to show, that if an evil exists, it is of far less magnitude than has been represented. The Saybrook Confession of Faith will not, I suppose, be denied to be, in every material point, the same as that of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster ; and the Westminster Catechism is a mere abstract of the Westminster Confession. To avoid circumlocution, therefore, these will all be considered as one. What, then, is there in the Westminster Confession of Faith, which is so opposed to the general doctrines of the Protestant churches, that it can form no union with the doctrinal articles of the Church of England ?—What is there, in an assent to the former, which amounts to an *abjura-*

tion of the latter?—This sentiment is certainly opposed to the general language of the Protestant world: it is opposed to the direct declarations of divines the most distinguished for their learning and their piety in the Church of England itself. Let the appeal be to facts. “Blessed be God,” says Bishop Hall, than whom there is no man of whom the Church of England may be more justly proud, “there is no difference, in any essential point, between the Church of England and her sister Reformed Churches.” “We unite in every article of Christian doctrine, without the least variation, as the *full and absolute agreement* between *their* public confessions and *ours* testifies.” What says Bishop Horsely?—“I know not what hinders,” says he, “but that the *highest supralapsarian Calvinist* may be as good a Churchman as an Arminian.”—Surely Bishop Horsley did not suppose, that an assent to the Westminster Confession was “abjuring” the thirty-nine articles.

But there is no necessity of quoting the declarations of individuals, which might be produced to almost any extent. Look at the head of the Episcopal Church in England. In an act respecting the Church of Scotland, in the reign of William and Mary, it is said: “Our sovereign lord and lady,” &c. &c. “conceive it to be their bounden duty to settle and secure therein (Scotland) the *true Protestant Religion, according to the truth of God’s word*, as it hath for a long time been professed within this land; and also the *government of Christ’s Church* (Presbyterianism) within this nation, *agreeable to the word of God, and most conducive to the advancement of true piety and Godliness*,” &c. &c. And afterwards, “They (the king and queen) ratify and establish the *Confession of Faith* (the Westminster Confession) now read in their presence, *containing the sum and substance of the doctrine of the Reformed Churches*,” &c. &c. By an act of the British parliament, (5th of Anne) commonly called the *Act of Union*, the above act is distinctly recognized and confirmed; and every sovereign since, on ascending the throne, has taken an oath “inviolably to maintain and preserve the settlement of the *true Protestant Religion*,” &c. according to these acts. How, then, could “Toleration,” with these facts staring him in the face, summon impudence sufficient, publicly to complain, and, as he would undoubtedly be thought, from pure zeal for the Church of England, that the Westminster Confession is made a test in Yale College? And more than this, how could this champion of the *thirty-nine articles*, find in it his heart to insult the mother Church with the implied declaration, that *these very articles* are “abjured” by her head? There are, however, in every religious community, certain meddling and officious characters, pretending to superior illumination; but who discover very fully, by their whims and their vagaries, that their *zeal* has out-run their *knowledge*.

But, assent is likewise required to the mode of church government adopted by the Congregationalists in this State. This rule, as appears from another communication, according to President Clap, was introduced to exclude those who believe that "Episcopacy is of *divine right* in such an exclusive sense as to *invalidate* all Presbyterian *ordinations*;" but not those who believe that "Episcopal government is only most *convenient*, or may be complied with as a *civil* establishment."

Is it true, then, that Episcopalians of the United States are of the *former* class? That there is one Episcopalian, who believes, if he may give credit to "Toleration," that all, out of the pale of his own sect, are aliens and outcasts from the church, is a lamentable fact. But that an immense majority of that communion wholly reject such extravagancies; and, especially, that many of the ablest divines, who, by their writings and lives, have been the glory of the English Church, and of our common Christianity, have been of the *latter* class, is capable of the most satisfactory proof.

Here it would be very easy to quote the opinions and declarations of many of the highest dignitaries of the Episcopal Church, which are express to this point. The venerable names of Jewel, of Hall, of Usher, of Burnet, of Tillotson, and of many others, are at hand; men, who, while they maintained the superiority of the Episcopal form of church government as most *expedient*, especially where already established, as in England; gave no countenance to the doctrine of *exclusive scriptural warrant*. Let us hear Archbishop Wake, as a representative of the whole body. After expressing himself strongly in favour of Episcopacy as an institution, in his opinion, from the Apostolic age, he proceeds. "In the mean time, I am far from being so uncharitable as to believe, that any of those (Presbyterian) churches, on account of this defect, (want of bishops,) ought to be *cut off from our communion*; nor can I, by any means, join with certain mad writers among us, in *denying the validity of their sacraments*, and in calling in question their right to the name of Christian Churches." Yet "Toleration" can talk about the *invalidity of Presbyterian ordinations*; and thus, as it should seem, put himself off as a better Churchman than the Archbishop of Canterbury. "There are some men," says Sancho, "who want better bread than can be made of wheat."

But we will come nearer home. Bishop White, of Pennsylvania, remarking on the opinion that Episcopacy is *not of divine right*, observes: "This he believes to be the sentiment of the *great body of Episcopalians in America*; in which respect they have in their favour, *unquestionably*, the sense of the *Church of England*, and, as he believes, the opinions of her *most distinguished prelates for piety, virtue, and abilities*." Bishop White, it should be remembered, is the senior Bishop of the American

Episcopate, and holds the rank, though not the title, of Archbishop* of the Episcopal Church of the United States; and a man every way deserving this high eminence, by his talents, his learning, his piety, and Christian liberality. When "Toleration" again finds occasion to write on the subject of the *invalidity* of Presbyterian ordinations, he would do well to recollect, that modesty would dictate to him, not hastily to contradict his betters.

In my opinion, therefore, whatever objections may be brought against the College test, those actually brought, come with a poor grace from any genuine Episcopalian. Undoubtedly, the reasons for the test, in this particular form, cannot now be urged with the same force, as when it was first introduced. There is now as little danger of the prevalence of the doctrine of the *divine right of Bishops*, as of the *divine right of Saybrook Platform*; and as little danger of either, as of the prevalence of the doctrine of *Papal Supremacy*. Passion should not be introduced into this question. We have to deal with reasonable men; and, without doubt, the rights of all will be respected.

I will conclude with the following observations from Bishop Watson, which "Toleration" is requested to consider in the light of an *Episcopal censure*. They are likewise recommended to the serious consideration of all other bigots, by whatever name they may be called.

Says this truly Christian Bishop: "What! shall the Church of Christ never be freed from the narrow-minded contentions of bigots; from the insults of men who know not what spirit they are of, when they would stint the Omnipotent in the exercise of his mercy, and bar the doors of heaven *against every sect but their own*? Shall we never learn to think more humbly of ourselves, and less despicably of others?" And again.—"Churchmen as well as Dissenters, and Dissenters as well as Churchmen, are apt to give a degree of assent to opinions beyond what they can give a reason for. This is the very essence of prejudice. It is difficult for any man entirely to divest himself of all prejudice; but he may surely take care that it be not accompanied with an uncharitable propensity to stigmatize with reproachful appellations, those who cannot measure the rectitude of the divine dispensations by his rule; nor seek their way to heaven by insisting on the path which he, in *overweening* wisdom, has arrogantly prescribed as the only one which can lead men thither."

EUSEBIUS.

* Archbishop! What is the motive for introducing this word? Is there any other object than to bring odium upon the Episcopal Church?—Papal supremacy also! Would not the *miraculous* conversions of the present day prove as near an affinity to Popery, and to its store-house of merits and qualifications for distribution and sale, and for *discerning* the spirits of the elect, as the *Divine* right of a Deacon, or of a Bishop?—Cease, then, Eusebius, to slander Episcopacy.

PUR.

MR. EDITOR,

YOU will, I hope, pardon this intrusion of an OLD customer, who is seldom troublesome to you in this way, and who now reluctantly craves the privilege of occupying a column of your paper, which has heretofore been devoted to purposes of more utility than that of gratifying party scribblers. Of this description, however, may be ranked the correspondent in your number of the 28th Nov. who attempts an elaborate reply to the writer under the signature of *Toleration*, in the preceding number, on the subject of the *Bonus*.—Had the respondent observed an equal degree of calmness and equanimity of temper, with the writer of *Toleration*, he needed not to usher his production into the world without any signature real or fictitious,* like one of those foundlings “whose graceless parents scorn to own them.” But in this omission, perhaps he was governed more by cunning than candour. In his animadversions on the performance of *Toleration*, he introduces his subject thus:—“That piece, which, in my view, was written with more zeal than knowledge, and more passion than truth.” It is not impossible but he may find some depraved minds, who may unite with him in this sentiment: but many very judicious and candid judges have expressed a contrary opinion; nor have they withheld the meed of applause and approbation from the author of *Toleration*, for his cool and dispassionate discussion of a subject calculated to create unpleasant feelings in the minds of those who were disappointed at the final disposition of the *Bonus*. Had our nameless author done justice to the feelings he betrays, he would have assumed the signature of *Anti-Toleration*, a character doubtless more congenial with his temper and disposition. His method of treating his opponent is not calculated to invite that “humility and candour,” which he expects, should he “be corrected.”

After passing such sort of compliments on the writer whom he opposes, he proceeds to entertain us with a tedious history of the conduct of the Legislature, in the management of the petition for the *Bonus*. In this part of his labour, he might have spared himself the trouble of his repetitions; for every one who is in the least conversant with those public transactions, knows how often the petition was bandied about from one House to the other, *as prudence and policy suggested*; and after comparing notes, (no intrigue in the case, to be sure,) passed in one branch, and was negatived in the other. Then changing sides, and finally, after coming to a right understanding with each other, and discovering the “cloven foot,” amicably terminated the business

*In justice to the writer in question, it ought to be observed, that the omission of his signature, (“HAMILTON,”) was purely accidental.

[EDIT. HERALD.]

to the great comfort and satisfaction of such Anti-Tolerationists as the writer in question. But whether this final decision is consonant to the principles of strict impartiality, is left to the judgment of future times. At any rate, if our champion has the dexterity of exonerating that honourable body from the suspicion of an apparent inconsistency of conduct, when one branch at one time voted for the petition, and the other negatived it—then shifting sides, and finally, one house being so far illuminated as to tack right about, with the exception of one solitary vote,—I say, if there is no appearance of inconsistency in such proceedings, so much to the credit and honour of those concerned. Poor Yale College! Had not thy fortune been coupled with that odious character, a *Bishop*, the sound of which is so grating to the ears of some Christians, and those of the *elect*, too, thy success had been infallible. But patience, patience!—a plan is maturing for thy benefit—a Botanic Garden, and State Alms-House, is to be placed under thy jurisdiction; and thus, this amphibious creature, the *Bonus*, “the child of intrigue and the mother of discord,” is to be put under the fostering care of a capable dry nurse.

Not having the honour of the least acquaintance with the author of *Toleration*, I shall leave him to vindicate himself, not doubting of his competency, without descending to the low scurrility of his antagonist; nor shall I take up more room to notice the exultation he manifests at the conduct of a few Episcopalians, “who were (he says) candid enough to acknowledge that their claim was groundless.” It is believed their number were small indeed, who made such acknowledgment: but that many of them disdained to persevere in solicitations which they were convinced would prove unavailing. The writer of this is no friend to controversy, either Religious or Political; and for that reason, will pass by with silent contempt, the stale slang at the “*Divine right of Bishops*,” but to the candid and judicious part of your readers, it will be sufficient to observe, that such an officer is deemed by Episcopalians, essential to the due organization of their Church; and without him, their system is incomplete and defective—and they believe that such a character is of Apostolic usage, agreeable to Scripture, and has existed in the Christian Church through all ages, from the Apostles down to this time. This they believe; but are far from obtruding their belief on others. Those who would wish to know whether they have any well founded supporters of their opinion and belief, are referred to *Slater’s* answer to Sir Peter King—to William Law’s three Letters to Bishop Hoadley, in refutation of the vagaries and conjectures of Archdeacon Bailey—and recently, to Doctor Bowden’s two Letters to President Stiles. Neither of those writers have been answered to this day; and probably never will be.

A FRIEND TO TOLERATION.

Fairfield County, Dec. 1815.

No. XII.

SEABURY COLLEGE.*

MR. STEELE,

Sir,—OURS is the closing turn: but, for the present, we waive this privilege, and proceed to adduce further testimony, that a religious test is required of the officers of Yale College. But before this is done, it is incumbent on us to parry the lance aimed at the vitals of the Episcopal religion, by our opponent, who brands with bigotry and intolerance the doctrine of the “divine right of Bishops.” And should his arm be resistless in this stab at our religion, we will cheerfully grant that our cry for impartiality and toleration is out of place. And here we will lay before our readers the first paragraph of President Clap’s History of Yale College.

“The original and primary design of the institution of colleges and superior schools of learning, was to educate young men for the work of the Ministry: And therefore they have been generally esteemed to be of *DIVINE INSTITUTION*, and were commonly called the *Schools of the Church*. To this effect, the Fathers of *New-England* declare their sentiments in sundry expressions in their early synodical acts. ‘That we read in Scripture of Schools and Colleges: That they are necessary for the training up of such in good literature as may be called to the office of a Pastor or Teacher in the Church: That the Doctor or Teacher was instituted both for the Churches and the Schools: That *Samuel, Elijah, and Elisha*, were Presidents of the Schools of the Prophets:’ And that ‘Ecclesiastical history informs us that great care was taken by the Apostles and their immediate Successors, to settle Schools in all places where the Gospel had been preached; that so the interest of Religion might be preserved, and the truth propagated to succeeding generations.’”

It appears from this extract, that the Fathers of New-England believed in the Divine institution of Colleges; and if they believed in the Divine appointment of officers, without whom the institution would be *useless*, (especially since *Samuel, Elijah, and Elisha*, were presidents of the schools of the prophets, and that the doctor or teacher was instituted both for the churches and the schools,) they were not far from the doctrine of the *Divine* right of Bishops. And on the ground of reason, and the analogy derived from civil governments, this tenet is well founded, and

* See 11th line of the 9th page, where a grant for a charter of a College to Churchmen, is mentioned as one of the two provisos, which will remove the complaints of Episcopalians. The College was introduced with the Phoenix premium, and is now as much the appropriate subject for discussion, as the premium of the Phoenix Bank.

consistent with true liberty. The republican forms of the various constitutions in this country agree in this particular, that *one* person presides. The Governor is our chief magistrate, from whom all commissions flow. The President is the chief officer in the government of the United States. *This* form is then considered as insuring the most freedom to the people, and is most agreeable to the genuine spirit of Republicanism. In all these constitutions, there are *grades* of officers commissioned by the principal magistrate. A divided Executive is thought to be irresponsible and unstable.

If, then, the institution of colleges be of Divine appointment, why should not the institution of *officers* be of Divine appointment? And if the institution of ministers, of deacons, and of a *particular* church, be of Divine original, where is the bigotry or intolerance in the belief that a Bishop has the power of administering discipline, and of ordaining ministers in the church, and that he possesses these powers by Divine institution?

In the Saybrook Platform, p. 108 of the edition of 1810, are these words: "We agree that the *ministerial* office is instituted by Jesus Christ," &c.—and p. 114, "We agree, that the office of deacon is of *Divine* appointment," &c.—and in p. 106, "We agree, that particular societies of visible saints, who, under Christ their head, are statedly joined together, for ordinary communion with one another in all the ordinances of Christ, are *particular churches*, and to be owned to each other as instituted churches of Christ, though differing in *apprehensions and practice* in some lesser things."

The president of the college, a minister of a church, its deacon, and a church of *visible* saints, then, actually *claim* a *Divine* right: and why may not a Bishop be allowed to preside over a diocese of Episcopalians, and be believed by them to exercise his office by *Divine* right?

We are told by Presbyterians, that *forms* of government and modes of worship are of no consequence: and we now assert that the Saybrook Platform canonizes the *doctrinal* part of the 39 Articles of the Episcopal Church, at p. 116, in the following words: "As to what appertains to soundness of judgment in matters of faith, we esteem it sufficient that a church acknowledge the Scriptures to be the word of God, the perfect and only rule of faith and practice; and own either the *doctrinal* part of those commonly called the Articles of the Church of England, or the Confession or Catechism, shorter or larger, compiled by the Assembly at Westminster, or the Confession agreed upon at Savoy, to be agreeable to the said rule." If, then, *forms* of government and modes of worship are not deserving of serious consideration, and the doctrines of the Episcopal Church are agreeable to the "perfect and only rule of faith and practice," why should not the Episcopal Church be viewed as Christian and tolerant,

by those who differ from her, upon what they esteem to be *immaterial* points? Whether the practice of *excommunicating* those conscientious members of the Congregational churches, who have joined themselves to the communion of the Episcopal church, be tolerant; or, whether such practice be consistent with regarding the Episcopal communion as a Christian communion, or the Episcopal Church as a Christian church, is not within our province to determine.* Daily complaints are in the mouths of the enemies of our church, that Episcopalians have not preciseness in manners, nor fire in zeal; that the clergy have not rigidity in discipline; but that they, in truth, have too much liberality in doctrine, and too much charity in admission of members to the eucharist. That we have not preciseness, nor fire, is readily admitted; but that the clergy are unsound in faith or negligent in duty, is the imputation of envy and malice. The Fathers of New-England, in their early synodical acts, respecting the Divine right of the President; the Episcopalians, in their doctrine of the Divine right of Bishops; the Congregationalists, in their Divine right of Ministers, of Deacons, and of Churches of *visible* Saints, in their construction of Scripture, may all be in error; but, upon the principles of reason and religion, they ought to be tolerated.

We have already given to our readers the form of a creed, and the vote of the trustees of Yale College, *excluding* Episcopalians from office; and we now present them an example of the *removal* from office of Dr. Cutler, then Rector or President, be-

* *In such a case, to excommunicate is to tolerate, not to persecute!*—When a regular dismission is asked for, (there being no charge of immorality,) the reply is, that a *precedent* will endanger the church. Previous to departure, disbelieving Calvinistic divinity, the *souls* of these victims endure torture; but, when this step is once taken, although denunciation follows, and reputation is disgraced, conscience is “void of offence,” and their *bodies* do not consume in the fires of persecution. This practice is an enforcement of the utmost and final *spiritual* power. What would be the disposition as to the exertion of *temporal* power, is left to the judgment of our readers.

Are we acquainted, Mr. Hamilton, with the meaning of our own signature? And, by the way, this champion in the cause of religion and literature seems to be on the wane.† The Professor of the Medical Institution, who was formerly Tutor in our Alma Mater, denies being the author of Hamilton; and of course we were mistaken in the probability we suggested respecting this insignificant circumstance.

[† Did this writer *know*‡ that the correspondence was about to be closed, and that he and his faithful squire were to have the rest of the battle all to themselves? This instance of his courage indicates a great soul!
COMP.]

‡ If the reader will turn to page 45, at the end of Hamilton's piece, he will see that “Toleration” and “A Churchman” are without sufficient “judgment and ability, or decency,” to render necessary any further “remarks” from Hamilton.
PUB.

cause he was Episcopally *inclined*, although he "had superior natural powers and learning:" It will be found in pages 31 and 32; and his character is given at page 78, which follows:--"The Rev. Dr. Timothy Cutler, formerly Rector of this college, died in August, 1765: he was educated at Harvard College in Cambridge, and graduated there in 1701. In the year 1710 he was ordained over a Church at Stratford, according to the constitution of the churches in Connecticut. In 1719 he was chosen Rector of the college, as before related. After his *removal*, he went to England and took Episcopal orders, and received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from both the Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*; and afterwards was Rector of Christ Church in Boston about 40 years. He was a gentleman of *superiour natural powers and learning*; had entertained a high opinion of the constitution of the Church of England, and was zealously attached to it."---This example was, without doubt, recorded to exhibit to posterity the abhorrence in which the Trustees held, not the Divine right of the minister, who was President of the college, (who now enjoys tenfold more power than any Bishop on this continent,) not the Divine right of a Deacon, "to receive, lay out and distribute the church's stock to its proper uses by direction of the pastor and brethren, if need be;" not the Divine institution of Colleges and Schools, which "the Apostles took great care to settle in all places where the Gospel had been preached;" nor the Divine institution of *particular* churches of *visible* saints, "though differing in apprehensions and practice, in some lesser things;"---no, not to show their hatred of these *exclusive forms* of government: but this example was published in the annals of the college, to inform mankind that the Corporation would not *tolerate* a denomination of Christians, who conscientiously believe the Divine right of a Bishop, or, the Divine institution of the office of a Bishop, as well as of a Minister and of a Deacon.

What magic is there in a name! And what terror does the word *Bishop* convey to the hearts of many uninformed, though excellent men!

There can be no doubt, then, that Episcopalians have been and *are excluded* from holding offices in Yale College;--and the officers of the Medical Institution are of necessity effectual agents in the propagation of the doctrines of the Saybrook Platform, from the existence of the *test* of religion, to which they are compelled to subscribe in Yale College. This Platform was republished in 1810, by the approbation of the Association at Ellington, with the attestation of the Rev. Samuel Merwin as scribe to that body of ministers; and is, at this time, the *Confession of Faith* for the Congregationalists or Presbyterians, as well as for the officers of Yale College.

But we are met here with this answer;--that Episcopalians

should not be permitted to found Seabury College, with a charter and aid from the State, nor to receive any part of the Phoenix premium, agreeably to the *offer* of the petitioners for said Phoenix Bank, because the sons of Episcopalians are allowed the privilege of receiving an education in Yale College. And although it be granted, that a creed is required of the officers, which excludes Episcopalians, and *no other* denomination of Christians in this State;* and although it be admitted, that when money is granted to Yale College from the treasury, this money is in truth a *salary* for the support of Presbyterian officers in that seminary;—yet, the circumstance that our children are not forbidden to attend the Episcopal Church on Sunday, places both upon a level as to the favour of the Assembly : and this circumstance is sufficient evidence of liberality, and of the non-existence of the creed, to weigh down the counteracting agency produced by *extemporaneous* prayers of the morning and evening through the week,—the lecture from the President on Divinity every Monday from Vincent's Catechism, which the scholars are compelled to study,—and, indeed, the *entire influence* of the Corporation and Authority of the College ! In truth, this privilege of not forbidding the sons of Episcopalians to attend the Episcopal Church on Sunday, is good *policy*, for securing influence over young minds, which influence the officers ought to enjoy. It is the true way of propagating their own creed ; and it is believed that Roman Catholics, or Jews, or Turks, would and ought to make use of similar liberality to Protestant Christians, in their literary establishments. We do not blame the officers of College for thus showing their liberality;—it is becoming condescension;—it is praiseworthy conduct : but this very conduct gives authority to their opinions, both *religious* and literary, (and ought thus to do,)—and respect and veneration to their persons. Liberality, in this case, (as it should in every case,) receives an ample reward—an ability to propagate with more success the creed of the officers ; and the disposition thus to propagate their religious tenets, is their *duty*, in consequence of the Saybrook Platform creed, which they have publicly read, as their own, in the Yale College chapel.

The sons of Episcopalians being educated in Yale College.

* This is not true,† (says Hamilton.) The Episcopalians can subscribe to the Saybrook Platform, and their officers in College have so subscribed it, because it recognizes the 39 Articles. But it does not recognize all the doctrines of other sects.

Comp.

† The Saybrook Platform recognizes the *doctrinal*, but not the *governmental* part of the 39 Articles. Episcopalians cannot, President Cutler and others would not, subscribe to the Saybrook Platform, as to ordination and government. There is but one instance, we believe, where an Episcopalian has subscribed to this Platform ; and that instance will be seen before the reader finishes this number.*

Pub.

and being permitted to attend the Episcopal Church on Sunday, do not then justify the Legislature in rejecting the prayers for the establishment and endowment of Seabury College,—nor do these circumstances change the nature of the claim of the Trustees of the Bishop's Fund to their part of the Phoenix premium.

But it is said, that similar creeds exist in the colleges of Massachusetts and other States ; and therefore Episcopalians ought not to complain that our Legislature has repeatedly denied to them the privilege of a charter for a college. Whether the facts respecting the creeds be thus exclusive against Episcopalians *only*, we are not informed ; but, is it not a fact, that their Legislatures have refused to grant colleges to Episcopalians in their respective States ; and if they have thus treated Episcopalians, it is a *fact*, that they have been partial in their munificence to one sect,—a sect of favour,—a sect of patronage.

Again, it is said, that in the course of 114 years, (the College being founded in 1701,) *two* persons who were brought up in the Episcopal Church, have been *Tutors* in Yale College, one of whom has never since attended the church, although there is an Episcopal one where he resides ; and the other gentleman, notwithstanding his subscription to the creed, is still a member of the church of his youth. He was young and inconsiderate. He has since returned to his "first love." How rigidly have been carried into execution the "principal design of the pious founders of this college, to train up youth according to the doctrine, discipline and mode of worship practised in the Congregational churches of this colony, and to *ground* them in polemical divinity, according to the Assembly's Catechism, Dr. Ames' Medulla, and *Cases of Conscience* ; and not to *suffer* them to be instructed in any different principles or doctrines !" Clap's history, page 61. No Episcopalian, except one of the gentlemen just alluded to, has ever been permitted to be a Tutor, without subscription to the creed. In his case, it is understood, there was a change of some of the articles. A Mr. Brown *altered* his mind with respect to the government of the Congregational churches, *after* he was chosen Tutor, and was removed from office with Dr. Cutler ; or, as the vote runs, the Trustees *accepted* of his resignation ! Only three cases can be found in this long tract of time. One, forced to *resign*, for altering his sentiments ; one, now a Presbyterian, although his conscience was not encroached upon ; and one, still a thorough Episcopalian, notwithstanding his youthful aberration. President Clap states the number of graduates* to be one Episcopalian in ten ;

* This is a mistake, it should be *ministers* instead of graduates. But we all know the number of Episcopal graduates to have been very considerable ; probably in nearly the same ratio as that of ministers.--PUB.

but only two Episcopalians have been chosen to the office of Tutor. All the rest have not possessed sufficient abilities!! How zealously, faithfully, and masterly, is the *creed* of the pious founders of this corporation transmitted to posterity! "It is totally impracticable," says Hamilton, "that any *literary institution*, (and nothing but *bigotry* itself would give any other appellation to our college,) to be conducted upon more fair and liberal principles towards all denominations of religion, than Yale College is, and always has been; and he who, with a knowledge of this, can wage Gothic warfare against that institution, is a foe to the best interests of the State."

An application was made to the Assembly, by Episcopalians, in the fall of 1810, for the power of conferring honorary degrees in literature; or, in other words, for the charter of a college, *without funds*. The Lower House were almost *unanimous* in favour of this application; but the Council opposed to the unanimity of the Lower House a full negative.

At the *same* session, (yes, reader, at the same session, immediately after the rejection of the Episcopal College,) Yale College addressed the Legislature on the subject of the Medical Institution; and their prayer for a charter of annexation to the mother seminary, was, of course, granted. Among other provisions of this act, Physicians are *forced* to study one term at the Medical College before they can be *examined* for a license to practice.

In 1811, the Assembly were again asked by Churchmen for a college, without funds from the State treasury. This petition was *rejected* by a small majority in the Lower House, and by a full vote in the Council.

At the public Commencement of 1813, was delivered to the audience, an impressive speech on the utility of establishing a Law Seminary in Yale College. The annexation of this learned profession to the Corporation, by the Assembly, has not taken place in connexion with the Litchfield Law Seminary, perhaps through fear (on the part of the Litchfield gentlemen) of an embrace similar to that experienced by the Medical Society from the mother college.*

At the spring session of the year 1814, Yale College petitioned the Legislature for 20,000 dollars of the Phoenix premium, to endow the Medical College. It was granted. The fatality, however, attending the exertions of Churchmen, the same and succeeding sessions, to get \$10,000 of the Phoenix premium, has already been exposed to the public.

* Can it be denied that the Officers of Yale College have *sounded* the Litchfield gentlemen respecting a union? and that it has been long in contemplation to annex a Law Institution to the University, with the religious test of Yale College?

At the last fall session, Yale College asked for \$30,000 to found a State Poor-House and Lunatic Hospital; which \$30,000 happens to be the exact amount of the remaining Phoenix premium. The Professor of Chemistry drew the petition; and the Churchmen in town were waited upon, to find out whether they were willing to relinquish their claim to their part of the \$30,000. Yale College established her creed in the Medical Institution; and why will she not provide one for the Lunatic Hospital and State Poor-House? The Professor of Chemistry, in that case, may be rewarded with a *third* salary. How *unambitious* is this Presbyterian University! And how little fear she betrays towards a *rival* in literature; which rival will *disgrace* Episcopalians by its insignificance! But, it seems, the treasury is never to be *unlocked* for the benefit of Seabury College.

The vote of the Corporation, which annuls or *essentially* varies the creeds and statutes of 1753, has not been given to the public, for a good reason; it cannot be found; it does not exist.

It is a truth, then, that a religious test of faith is *established* in Yale College. It is a truth, that the Assembly have refused to grant a charter for an Episcopal College *without* funds for its support. It is a truth, that the Legislature have granted \$20,000 to the Medical Institution of Yale College, which has the same religious test of faith with the mother seminary. It is a truth, that the Legislature have *withheld* from Episcopalians *that* part of the Phoenix premium, which was *offered* to them by the petitioners for the Phoenix Bank. And now, reader, is it not a truth, that, since Episcopalians have borne their proportion of the burdens of taxation for the maintenance of Yale College, (and, according to the view of Hamilton, of the Medical Institution also,) we then again ask, is it not a *truth*, that Episcopalians are treated with injustice, partiality and intolerance?

In the Medical Institution, no vote is valid without the consent of the President of Yale College. No physician can practice in our State, without studying in this institution, or in one out of this State.

This looks something like a *religious* establishment. And should the Law Students be compelled, by a Law of this State, to attend the instruction of officers of the Saybrook Platform creed, the prospect of an establishment would be still more flattering. Would not this be an accumulation of temporal power in the breast of one man, however excellent and honourable, which must be alarming to the best interests of the State? Divinity Students, (since the Legislature has rejected an Episcopal College,) are to be deprived of a liberal education, or to seek it in neighbouring States, or to pass through the operation of the Test law, imposed upon the officers of Yale College.

Among the amendments to the constitution of the United States, which were ratified by the requisite number of the legislators of our Union, this is the first article :---“Congress shall make no law respecting an *establishment of religion*, or prohibiting the *free* exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.” And each member of our Assembly, when he takes his seat, has administered to him, by an authorised officer, the following oath :---“You, A. B. do solemnly swear to support the constitution of the United States.”

And thus much for the toleration exhibited in the creeds and statutes and practice of the Corporation of Yale College, of the Legislature of this State, and of the Constitution of the United States.

But we are told, that considerations of impartiality, of justice, of law, or of equity, will have no influence with our Legislature, when their *WILL** impels them to act. They *will*, say these persons, regard no human power. Episcopalians *shall not* have a College, nor *their* part of the Phoenix premium. They *shall* be kept down, at the expense of *toleration*. Ah! is this the language of *Christians* in the 19th century? A modern example of *power* without principle, has been given to the world by the French nation and its Ruler. A series of triumphs *was* on their side.

France is groaning under oppression, in retaliation for enormities.

Bonaparte has been at Elba. Bonaparte, after a second overthrow, in possession of enemies whom he defied and execrated, is gnawing his vitals at St. Helena!

Such friends to religion and the literary institutions of our State, thus representing the conduct of the Assembly, and manifesting the disposition to tyrannize, should be careful not provoke the vengeance of the Almighty!--There is no truth in suggestions of this kind. Principle is the polar star which *will* guide our councils. We are a Christian people. The day of intimidation is past.

TOLERATION.

* This *WILL* was urged to the Churchmen in this City, as a reason why they should give up all hopes respecting the Premium, and join the Medical Professors in procuring the Lunatic Hospital and State Poor-House.

No. XIII.

To Connecticut Episcopalians.

THE writer who now signs himself “Hamilton,” it seems, has at last discovered, that scurrility is not the weapon of a

Christian, and that mis-statements must in the end involve their authors in defeat and disgrace. Indeed, the tenor of his last number, especially when contrasted with the temper of his first, gives us reason to hope, that, at least as far as *you* are concerned, this writer has profited much, very much from his discovery.* You are now no longer insulted with the assertion, that your claims on the Legislature rests on the ricketty props of "*insidious petitions*," "*intrigue*," "*management*," and "*cloven feet*." The respectable gentlemen selected from your number, as Trustees to your Bishop's Fund, are no longer pointed at as men who urged to the Legislature the "*pleas of faction*," as an apology for their petition. And, what is more astonishing than all, you, even you, Episcopalians, are really addressed, and caressed, as a respectable body of Christians. Little was it it to have been expected, that an attack commenced with sneers and insult, would so soon have wound up with the sugary sayings of flattery. This trick, however, comes too late, to have its desired effect. The veil of deception is too frail and flimsy, to pass without being detected. And you, Episcopalians, I dare say, will feel but poor consolation in the choice of evils, whether you are to be prostrated by open enemies, or hugged to death by pretended friends.

As "*Hamilton*" has, however, in a fit of friendship, devoted his last labours to you; suppose you, in your turn, should claim the privilege of a reply; and in the heart-felt language of sincerity, lay your case before him, for his friendly counsel and advice. If I mistake not, you would address him somewhat in substance as follows:

"You have boldly presented yourself to our notice, because (as you say) you give us facts which are unanswerable, and reasons which you think are incontrovertible. Although not Presbyterians ourselves, yet we hope that we have too much liberality to stop our ears against the arguments of others, or to brace our besoms against conviction, from whatever quarter it may come. We are members of a church, which (whatever others may say or think) has even wrung from your lips an acknowledgment of its talents and its piety: a church, permit us to add, which has alike withstood the assaults of Popery, and the seductions of modern Infidelity---a church, which is uniting its exertions with those of the great and good of other countries, in carrying the comforts of Christianity to the misled millions of the East; and flashing Gospel light amid the gloom of Pagan-

* The gentleman need not flatter himself that I feel any "*uncommon rancour*" towards *him*—Far otherwise—I have ever considered *him* as quite a passive instrument in the controversy—a sort of go-between; from behind which, *others* are flinging their froth and folly on the public.

ism. As members of this church, you are aware, we hold to the necessity of a learned and well regulated clergy. And surely the candour, which you claim, must confess, that the first step towards having our pastoral teachers respectable, (laying the *divine* authority of bishops out of the question,) is to provide an able and efficient ecclesiastical Head, to whom they are answerable for their acts. To effect this desirable object, we are unfortunately in want of funds. Our necessities, however, might be much relieved, if the State authorities would but loosen their hold on the sum of \$10,000, which an association of gentlemen once asked the privilege to give us ; but which, in passing from the hands of the donors to our Bishop's Fund, has somehow settled itself in the strong boxes of the treasury. A donation double in amount, destined at the same time, from the same association of gentlemen, to the Medical Department of Yale College, more fortunate than ours, passed through the treasury untouched, and has since reached the institution it was designed to benefit. What makes our case still more cutting, some officious friends of the college, not contented with the sum, which they have so luckily received, are making themselves unreasonably busy (as it strikes us) to acquire even the humble \$10,000, which was originally intended as a present to us. This is rendered still more surprising, because it is always coupled with the reflection, that the most important individual donations, which the college has ever received, came from the generosity of Episcopalians ; and even the public grants, which the Legislature has occasionally made to the college, have been taken from the pockets of Episcopalians, as well as from Presbyterians.

"It has indeed been said by grave legislators, and (if we mistake not) you have seconded the assertion, that a grant to the college is in truth a grant to Episcopalians ; inasmuch as the college favours no particular denomination of Christians ; but, on the contrary, stretches its motherly wings over all sects, and almost over all religions. Suffer us, however, to appeal from the unsupported assertions of individuals, to the history and records of the college itself. These records, as we read them, (and records you know, cannot lie,) say, that all persons are there excluded from office, whose creeds happen to vary from the *formula* of the university ; and, as the *occasion* of introducing that formula, was the conversion of the President from Presbyterianism to Episcopacy, and as it followed immediately his *removal*, we cannot but believe, till some contradictory record is shown us, that it is levelled directly at those prelatic principles, which we in our consciences believe to be correct. And we may further add, our uniform experience will bear us out in the belief, that this is the first time the coffers of the college were ever mistaken for the fund of a bishop.

"Do not believe that we have arrayed ourselves against legis-

tative grants to literary institutions ;---far from it. Literature and religion, doubtless, form two of the grandest objects, either for legislative or individual munificence : and as the Phœnix bonus, as offered, embraced both those grand objects, *we* have ever looked upon the bonus as *not* staining the records of the Assembly, (as has been done in other States,) with either a bribe to the public, or to individuals. And we humbly hope, that legislators (who emanate from people of different creeds) will not mistake generosity to *one* institution for *justice* to another. Startle not at the recollection that our trustees urged our claim to the Legislature as a matter of *right*. Episcopalians, who can remember *that* period of our State history,* when puritanical prejudices (we need not tell you whose) darkened the destinies of the church---when the sneer of contempt followed an Episcopalian to the very threshold of his sanctuary---when the finger of scorn was pointed even as he kneeled at the altar,---would be the last persons to think of urging or expecting any thing from the public authorities, as a matter of *favour*. Believe us then, when we assure you, it has never entered into our imaginations, to draw money from the public, unless the circumstances attending its receipt by the treasurer, (at least in our view,) gave a fair title in our favour. You have indeed informed us, that the trustees did not make out this title ; and for proof, refer us to your first number, and the act incorporating the Phœnix Bank, as it stands in the statute book. We have accordingly, with all due care, perused both those documents ; but must nevertheless acknowledge that our first opinion remains unshaken.

“In the essay to which you have referred us, for the facts relative to the Phœnix bonus, you have said, that the Council instantly rejected the petition, (which had passed the Lower House,) on the ground of the exceptionable clause controlling the distribution of the bonus ; and that the act incorporating the Phœnix Bank was passed *independent* of any petition whatever. The truth or falsehood of this position, as it strikes us, must constitute the hinge on which both your arguments, and our claim, must turn. Pardon us, therefore, if we here appeal from your declaration to the declaration of the Hon. Council themselves. We allude to the solemn declarations of that honourable body, relative to this business, contained in a copious *preamble* to a grant, which passed the Council in the spring of 1815 ; in which preamble we are informed, they declared in substance as follows :—Whereas a petition was preferred to the General Assembly, May session, 1814, praying for the incorporation of a bank,

* And yet Churchmen, in those days, “believed in the same Bible, and the same atonement, and looked for the same heaven,” as they now do.

with one and a half million of dollars capital; in which the petitioners offered to pay into the treasury of the State therefor, the sum of \$50,000, to be distributed in such sums as to the General Assembly should seem fit, to Yale College, the Medical Institution, and the Fund for the support of the Bishop of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut:—And whereas an act was thereon passed, incorporating the Phoenix Bank, and the sum of \$50,000 paid therefor into the treasury:—And whereas the General Assembly, by an act passed May session, 1814, granted to the Medical Institution of the College the sum of \$20,000, the same being a part of said sum of \$50,000, in conformity to the prayer of said petition:—Now, therefore, in further pursuance of said petition, and said act of incorporation, Be it enacted, &c.—We have not here given you the precise language of this preamble, because the original document has been, by some busy-body, purloined from the office of the Secretary of State, and cannot now be had. But we are warranted in averring, that the terms of the instrument were at least as strong, if not stronger, than those above recited. Now, we find it impossible for us to believe, that the Hon. Council (whom you inform us rejected the petition) ever could, or ever would, have drawn up a declaration of this kind, thus counting on the *petition*, if they, at the same time, (as you seem to suppose,) considered the same petition as a mere nullity, and as, indeed, rejected, “on the ground of the exceptionable clause relating to the distribution of the bonus;” unless, in truth, they had a *secret* will, in opposition to their *revealed* will; which is a doctrine, that we, as Churchmen, cannot bring ourselves to recognize.

“But further; we find, upon comparing the act incorporating the Phoenix Bank, with the original petition for the same, that the act yields every thing asked for in the petition, except the amount of capital, which is fixed at one third less than was prayed for. As, then, the Legislature have given the petitioners a bank, corresponding precisely with the prayer of the petition, except in amount of capital; we humbly conceive that the Legislature, by so doing, have as completely and effectually passed the petition, (except so far as amount of capital is concerned,) as if the magical words, “passed in the Upper House,” had been indorsed on the petition by the pen of the Secretary. We feel ourselves further fortified in this opinion, by the fact, that the act incorporating the Phoenix Bank is drawn up in language the same, in all essentials, as the acts incorporating the Derby Bank and the Eagle Bank; both of which institutions were incorporated on *petitions*.

“It is indeed insisted by some, that the petition for the Phoenix Bank left it to the wisdom of the Legislature to appropriate the bonus to the institutions mentioned, or to keep it in the treasury, as to their Honours seemed best. Place then, if you

please, the case on the most favourable grounds, and let the expression of form (as we have heretofore considered it to be) be in fact a direct authority to the Legislature to appropriate the bonus either to the three institutions, mentioned in the petition, or to dispose of it in such other way as to their Honours may seem best. Still, however, as their Honours have made choice of one of the alternatives, and, instead of keeping the money in the treasury, or investing the same in stock, have proceeded to appropriate a part of the sum to one of the institutions mentioned in the petition; they are bound, in good faith, to go forward and fulfil the remainder of their trust, even if a fifth part of the money should be appropriated for the benefit of Connecticut Episcopalians."

After you had thus laid your case before your new friend, suppose he should tell you, (by way of *triumphantly* refuting your slender reasoning,) that, although no believer himself "in legislative infallibility," yet, as *your* case has been decided by the legislative powers, you must be crazy to think of questioning the decision. And if you dare to appeal from the "powers that be" to the many-headed monster, the public, you shall be marched off in a body to a mad-house!——Such, Episcopalians, are the poor and puny shifts, to which your adversaries are driven, in order to stifle inquiry. They cannot, they dare not, meet you in the field of argument.—They may, for a while, attempt to brow-beat you with ribaldry and rant; but when that is finished, they are willing to quit the controversy on any terms.

A CHURCHMAN.

No. XIV.

Mr. Editor,

ALTHOUGH you refused, (improperly as I think, because I was only respondent in a question which others had started,) to insert my IVth number in your last week's paper, you will at least suffer me to repel an incorrect insinuation, contained in one of the notes of "A Churchman" in the same paper. This insinuation, entirely foreign from the question, improperly implicates third persons, who have had no share in this controversy; and is as mean and ill-natured towards them, as it is unjust towards "Hamilton." Let me inform "A Churchman" then, (and your readers generally,) that whatever relation or *concert* may have existed between him and "Toleration"—"Hamilton" acknowledges no leader in a contest with *such* opponents; nor has he once stooped to ask any assistance. He stands alone; and notwithstanding the various and blundering *guesses* of "Toleration" and "A Churchman," he *alone* is responsible for the pieces sign-

ed by him, or in any way purporting to be his, which have yet been suffered to appear in the Herald. Will they guess again? or, can they now feel that this is an ungentlemanly practice?

This is the second time, that out of mere justice to third persons, he has been obliged to contradict the unfounded surmises of these writers.

HAMILTON.

No. XV.

CONCLUDING NUMBER.

Mr. Steele,

WE have thought that "guessing" was allowable in our land of "steady habits;" and that no person, even "Hamilton," would consider it "ill-natured and mean towards third persons, or *unjust* towards himself," to "guess" at the author of the "triumphant refuter" of his opponents' "arguments and propositions." We have suggested that this author was probably a Medical Professor, who had formerly been Tutor in Yale College; and this suggestion we *retracted* in our next piece, because the Professor of Chemistry and Professor of Anatomy in the Medical Institution waited upon you, Mr. Steele, and demanded the author of "Toleration;" whose name you gave up to these gentlemen: and because one of the Professors called upon the writer of this article, and denied that he wrote the pieces signed Hamilton.

These gentlemen were not content with "guessing;" they have ascertained the name and seen the person of the writer of "Toleration;" and you, Mr. Steele, are bound to give to us Hamilton's name, provided we should make a demand similar to that of the Professors of the Medical Institution. But, Mr. Steele, you need not suspect our intention of taking this course with the person who calls so many hard names; since we have commenced with suggesting a probability, or, if Hamilton will have it so, since we have once mistakenly "guessed," we shall leave the public, if they wish, to find out the name of this gentleman in their own way. Without descending to personal disputation, perhaps we may be indulged in relating a story, which has been brought to mind in consequence of this writer's solicitude respecting *himself*. A Frenchman was introduced to one of the petty Chiefs in Africa; and after the customary salutation, the Chief asked with earnestness—What, Sir, does the *French Nation* say about *me*? Am *I* not talked much of in Paris?

What "A Churchman" probably meant by insinuating that Hamilton had received *assistance*, was owing to the circumstance

of his first piece being little more than a repetition of the *talk-ing* in the Lower House on the subject.

To Eusebius* we will say, that the public are interested with facts, and not with personal altercation. Eusebius directs us to look at the "HEAD of the Episcopal Church in England." If he means to insinuate that the King of England is *head* of the Episcopal Church in England, or that he is *head* of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland, in any other sense, than as a *tempo-ral* or *civil* head, his insinuation is as well founded as if he had said that the *Assembly*, in 1708, when they *established* the Saybrook Platform, Confession of Faith, and *form* of Church government, was the *spiritual head* of the Congregational Church in Connecticut. Neither of these Churches, nor the Episcopal Church in the United States, acknowledge any other *spiritual* head, than the Mediator between God and man, Jesus Christ; from whom flows all spiritual authority in the church.

Churchmen feel no gratitude for the *charity* displayed by Yale College towards the ordination by Bishops, (in the Episcopal sense,) which charity represents Episcopacy as "most *convenient*, or *expedient*, or as proper to be complied with as a *civil* establishment, or, as founded in *human policy*, invention, or imagination. They feel the same gratitude for *such* charity, as when Yale College denounces *ordination* by Bishops as "Pre-latical and Arminian corruptions, dangerous to the purity and peace" of Presbyterian or Congregational Churches. And they feel the same thankfulness for the *charity* which *turns out of of-fice* every Tutor, Professor or President, who is "*suspected* of an *inclination*" to Episcopacy.

Is this *charity*, or is it bigotted intolerance? Since you, Mr. Steele, have allowed "Hamilton" in his piece in your paper, to give the subject we introduced to the public, a *complexion* which we never designed it should receive, viz. that it is a *contest* between *individuals*, we think, sir, that every impartial man will justify you in the admission of the following facts, which will *again* pre-

*This writer has collected his matter from Dr. Miller, who has written two volumes to prove that Episcopacy is a human contrivance to aid Prelates in usurping the powers of the Presbytery. He was answered by Doctors Bowden and Howe, whom he attacked with spleen and bitterness, and retired from the controversy with stateliness and *noisy* charity.

Eusebius' frequent use of "bigot," renders him liable to the suspicion of saying, "Stand off, for I am holier than thou."

Anti-sectarian charity resembles French philosophism. It professes so much, and feels so little, that either infidelity or persecution comes within its embrace.

Since Doctor Miller, in his life of Doctor Rogers, has returned to the combat, Doctor Howe has in the press a well written volume in answer to this champion.

sent to your readers the true subject-matter for their consideration. Prejudice aside, our *right* to conclude this controversy is beyond question. Having first brought these facts before the public, it is certainly *fair* that we should not only be permitted to recapitulate them; but also to free them from, what we conceive to be, improper management. Not admitting *personal invective*, we considered the subject important to the *general* interests of our State; and this was the motive which impelled the writer to take the responsibility of introducing it into the columns of the Herald.

We have stated that a *test* of religious faith is required of the officers of Yale College and of the Medical Institution; that this *test* has operated to *exclude* from office all Episcopalians (whether they believed in the validity or invalidity of Presbyterian ordinations) except *two* persons, from the foundation of the college in 1701, to this time: that the Medical Students, before they can practise physic, are *forced* by law, either out of the State, or are *forced* to study one term at the Medical Institution, under these *test* officers: that the Legislature has *twice* denied Episcopalians a charter *without* funds for Seabury College; that the petitioners for the Phoenix Bank *offered* to the Bishop's Fund one third part of \$50,000; which sum the Assembly would not suffer them to pay to the trustees of that fund: that the same petitioners *offered* at the same time to endow the Medical Institution with one third of the same \$50,000; and that the Assembly, at the same session, appropriated \$20,000 to said Institution, a greater sum than the petitioners *offered*.

In the Fall session of 1810, Churchmen applied for a charter for Seabury College—which was rejected; but before the session closed, Yale College petitioned for the Medical Institution, and it was annexed to the Mother College. In the fall of 1811, Churchmen made another application for a College, which was again *refused*; but Yale College has not only been *favoured* with the Medical Institution, but has also had \$20,000 appropriated for the mutual benefit of both establishments.

At the last session, Yale College petitioned for \$30,000 to erect a Lunatic Hospital and State Poor-House; which petition, because the Assembly wanted to adjourn, was laid over to the next session in May. The Litchfield Law Seminary is to be joined to Yale College, provided sufficient funds will be given for its endowment, by the State.

The Medical Institution and \$20,000, do not satisfy Yale College; but a Law Institution, and the *whole* of the \$50,000 premium must be yielded to her ambition.

Not one of these have been denied to be *facts* by Hamilton, or Eusebius.

Let common sense, then, decide whether Episcopalians have

a fair claim to *their* part of the Phoenix premium; and to a charter for Seabury College; and whether, if the Assembly persist in rejecting these claims, Episcopalians are treated with liberality, or impartiality, or equity, or justice; or with a free, full and *real*, or with a narrow, specious and false

TOLERATION.

[*Here the controversy ended in the Connecticut Herald. The IVth Number of HAMILTON, addressed to LOKMAN, and to which the following essay is a reply, may be found (page 63,) in the Compilation issued by HAMILTON. As it is already before the public in a pamphlet, and was not one of the original numbers as published in the Herald, it has been here omitted.*]

PUB.

No. XVI.

"Long in the field of words we may contend;
 "Reproach is infinite, and knows no end;
 "Arm'd or with truth or falsehood, right or wrong,
 "So voluble a weapon is the tongue,
 "Wounded, we wound; and neither side can fail,
 "For every man has equal strength to rail.
 "Women, alone, when in the streets they jar,
 "Perhaps excel us in this wordy war;
 "Like us they stand, encompass'd with the crowd,
 "And vent their anger, impotent and loud.
 "Cease then."——

Pope's Iliad, lib. xx. v. 294—304.

TO be engaged in an interminable succession of answers and rejoinders upon a subject which originally occupied a very small compass, and which has been already completely exhausted, is both a fruitless waste of time, and a criminal abuse of reasoning. The attachment of a writer to the cause he has espoused, is almost indissoluble; and, with a kind of feline tenacity of life, he resolutely clings to his principles till he has been the ninth time knocked on the head. The inflexible pride of self-consistency will not permit either of the antagonists to yield the privilege of giving the last blow; and the controversy, which was commenced from a mutual persuasion that each had the right side of the question, is continued through the single motive of seeing who shall keep the field. Never, perhaps, were these observations more signally exemplified, than in the dispute which has grown out of the refusal of the Legislature to appropriate a part of the Phoenix Bonus to the uses of the Bishop's Fund. Restricted to the legitimate topics of discussion, this dispute might have been easily settled in the compass of a few paragraphs; and, while

it was confined to the columns of a newspaper, no person dreamed of the "infinite deal of nothing" which was weekly accumulating on the subject. But, since the controversy has been transferred to a more extensive field of argumentation, and all the little streams of the newspaper have been collected in the vast reservoir of a pamphlet,—what an ocean of words do we see, with here and there a solitary argument floating upon the discussion,—*rari nantes in gurgite vasto*!

It would be unaccountable how such a volume of discussion should have been elicited from so confined a subject as that which relates to the Bishop's Bonus, had it not been for the introduction of extraneous questions,—or, more properly speaking, had not the narrow controversy about a single act of the Legislature been converted into the illimitable cavillings of a religious dispute. This strange aberrance from the original track of discussion, has hardly a parallel; except it be an instance mentioned by Cicero, in which a controversy, which began about music, was consumed in a disputation concerning the rationality of wisdom and the utility of virtue. The advice which he gives on the occasion, ought to be treasured up in the memories of all those who are prone to fly off from the subject in hand:—"Verendum est, ne de alia re dicatur, cum alia de re controversia sit, inque hujusmodi vitio considerandum est, ne aut ad rem addatur quid, aut quippiam de re detrahatur; aut tota causa mutata in aliam causam derivetur: uti apud Pecuvium Zethus cum Amphione, quorum controversia cum de musica inducta sit, disputatio in sapientiæ rationem et virtutis utilitatem consumitur."* Cic. Ad. Heren. lib. ii. sec. 26.

The danger of protracting the dispute concerning the Bishop's Bonus into an endless series of alternate accusations and recriminations, at first determined me to pass over in silence any reply which Hamilton should be pleased to make to my essay of the 26th of December. The candour with which he is inclined to treat me, and the temperate style into which his composition seems to have subsided,† are, however, sufficient in-

* In controversies of every description, when you are discoursing on one subject, it is a great fault to introduce another,—either to add that which is extraneous, or to take away that which is essential. Above all, you should be upon your guard, lest you change the whole drift and topic of controversy: as was the case with Zethus and Amphion, who, when they had began a discussion upon the subject of music, occupied the whole of the dispute upon the rationality of wisdom and the utility of virtue.

† How different is the spirit with which he penned the IVth Number, from that which he breathed in the IIIrd! Who could suppose that a person, apparently so inimical to all fustian, would publish a sentence like the following?—"They (the Presbyterians) have seen issuing from your Church, in Great-Britain, Martyrs in Religion, Giants in Learning, Apostles in Piety, and Heroes in Christian Courage, mingling in the great

duancements to make me relinquish this resolution, and write a brief rejoinder to his IVth Number. Had he stated with accuracy the positions which I endeavoured to establish, there would be no occasion to reiterate my arguments; for the dispute would then be fairly before the reader, and he might himself appreciate the merits of our exertions. As it is, however, I feel constrained to make my appearance once more on the arena, and to rectify some strange misrepresentations which are contained in Hamilton's address to me.

In my first essay, it was attempted to be proved that the premium of the Phœnix Bank was not considered in the light of an ordinary receipt into the treasury of the State;—or, in other words, that it was only deposited in the coffers of the commonwealth for the purpose of appropriating it to the specific uses designated in the petition for a Bank. I endeavoured to show that the legislators did not conceive themselves at liberty to do with that money exactly as they pleased. In order to this, I undertook to establish the absurdity of the contrary supposition, by putting a very natural construction upon the subsequent acts of the Legislature. If the members of the Assembly had considered the Bonus as composing a part of the monies devoted to the general expenditure of the State, they certainly would have employed it to relieve the commonwealth in those points where the pressure of exigency was the heaviest. Such conduct would have been not only the dictate of common sense, but the result of cogent necessity. What, then, at the time of receiving the Bonus, was the item of expenditure, which required the speedy and united revenues of the State? To repeat a question contained in my former number,—Was not every sinew of the State and every penny of the treasury in requisition for the defence of our maritime frontier? But at this very necessitous conjuncture, we find the Legislature appropriating no less than \$20,000 to the Medical Department of Yale College. Was this the most effectual mode of defending the soil? Was this the way in which the revenues of the State were converted to the protection of its inhabitants? Would our grave legislators be purchasing *scalpella* for dissecting the bodies of their fellow-citizens, while they ought to be procuring instruments for the de-

and terrible conflict with Antichrist and his followers, and boldly encountering the embattled hosts of Infidelity and Illuminism, until the banner of the Cross waved in triumph over their prostrate foes."—Therefore, Episcopalians, you have no business with the Bishop's Bonus. There is certainly more real verbiage in this Number, than in all the others put together. He seems here to have effectually acquired the qualification which Mentor ascribes to Calypso,—*Il a trouvé le moyen de parler longtemps sans rien dire*,—that of being able to talk a long time without saying any thing. "His reasons are as two grains of wheat hid in two bushels of chaff; you shall seek all day ere you find them; and, when you have found them, they are not worth the search."—SHAK.

fence of their lives? Every tongue will be ready to pronounce a prompt and categorical negative to all these interrogations.—The conduct of our legislators was therefore explicable only, upon the supposition that they considered the Phoenix premium as set apart for specific purposes,—as money which they could not conscientiously appropriate to the defence of the commonwealth.

Had I been as full on this point in my first essay as I have been here, the candour of Hamilton would not perhaps have permitted him so unaccountably to misrepresent the real import of my reasoning. He has contrived, however, so to distort my argument, as to make it a complete tissue of absurdity; and with the privilege of the conqueror in such cases, has triumphantly brought up the rear of his periods with a formidable file of exclamation-points.—The above reasoning is thus exhibited by a writer upon whom the mantle of Alexander Hamilton seems to have dropped :—"The conduct of the Legislature, in so often refusing to grant 10,000 dollars to the Bishop's Fund, which to me appears such conclusive evidence, that when they received the Bonus, they never meant to appropriate any part of it in this way, (for their conduct is the only possible evidence of their intentions,) you attempt to explain, by supposing that as every sinew of the State was then in requisition to support the war, they wished to keep this money, to which they knew they had no right, for a few years: or in other words, they resolved to have a *compulsory* loan out of the Bishop's Fund, without even asking the trustees, of the enormous sum of 10,000 dollars, to carry on the war!" The transcription of this sentence has been an effectual trial of my patience; for there never was, perhaps, a more illiberal attempt at wit by an artful misrepresentation of another's meaning. Such doublings to escape the force of an argument, are very sinister omens to the cause which they are intended to serve. The writer set out with the benevolent intention of rectifying my mistakes; but I must be permitted to say, he has *committed* twenty errors where he has *corrected* one.

In the mind of every impartial reader, my reasoning was, I am sure, liable to no perversion;—and I defy Hamilton to point out a single passage which can give any countenance to the conclusion he has deduced from it. In that part of my essay, which he has thus misrepresented, there is not the remotest allusion to the 10,000 dollars of the Bishop's Fund. I was then combatting this writer upon his own ground,—and endeavouring to prove, that if, as he pretended, the sum given to the College in our city was not an *appropriation* of the Phoenix Bonus, but a *donation* from the treasury of the State, it was unaccountable how our legislators should, all at once, relax their gripe upon the public revenues, and begin to endow seminaries of learning,

(since they had heretofore treated them with such niggardly penuriousness,)—and more especially at a time when the exigencies of a belligerent state required every dollar of our scanty funds. The only way, then, in which the conduct of the General Assembly could be reconciled with the dictates of common sense, was to suppose that they considered the Phœnix Bonus, not as a part of the legitimate revenues of the State, but as a sum of money deposited in the vaults of the treasury for specific purposes, and, as such, incapable of being conscientiously applied to *any* part of the governmental expenditure which they might please to designate.

It seems to be admitted on all hands, that at the very time of the appropriation to the Medical Institution, the belligerent state of the commonwealth had occasioned a pressing necessity of money; and, indeed, Hamilton himself has told us, (page 11,) “that the treasury was groaning under the expenses of the war.” If then our Legislators considered the 20,000 dollars given to the Medical College as a part of the funds of the State, did they pay a very humane attention to the pecuniary “groans” of the treasury, in thus converting this sum to a purpose which, so far from affording relief, only aggravated the evil? The solitary evidence of a single individual cannot, I am persuaded, give much valid support to my reasonings on this point; but it is a fact, that one of the leading members of the Assembly expressed a wish, at the last session of the Legislature, that the remainder of the Phœnix Bonus might be disposed of in some way or other;—a wish, permit me to add, which would never escape the lips of a Yankee Legislator, in regard to the legitimate monies of the public revenue. Our coffers have never been in the predicament of the Treasury of the United States at the commencement of the Monticellian dynasty; when Mr. Jefferson was really at a loss to know what *should be done* with the inconvenient superflux of national revenue.

The whole paragraph of Hamilton’s IVth number, from which I have made an extract, and indeed almost all the subsequent part of his essay, is built upon the fundamental misrepresentation which I have been endeavouring to expose. It is amusing to see what an accumulation of falsities may be raised, by piling one mistake upon another—

“Hills over hills, and Alps on Alps they rise.”

Hamilton had undoubtedly very substantial motives for the expedient he has adopted in attempting to ward off my arguments on the subject we have been considering; inasmuch as an admission of their cogency, would completely deprive him of the great topic upon which the resources of his eloquence have been heretofore expended. The chief, and in fact, we may say, the *only* objection which has hitherto been urged

against the claim of the Episcopalians to the \$10,000 of the Phoenix Bonus, is, that an admission of the claim, and consequent payment of the money, would involve the awful legislative sin of converting a part of the public revenues to the exclusive benefit of one sect of Christians! This is the Alpha and the Omega of Hamilton's papers. At one time it struts in capitals,—and at another, shrinks into italics,—is now hedged in with exclamation points,—and now lurks under a parenthesis. Upon whatever topic he may be discoursing, he is sure to terminate in this;—distantly imitating the elder Cato, (*si parva licet componere magnis,*) who, let what might be the subject before his fellow-citizens, was always certain to finish his peroration by saying, “I am also of opinion, that Carthage should be destroyed.”

But if the foregoing observations be correct,—if the Legislature did not consider the Phoenix Bonus as a legitimate portion of public revenue, but as a sum destined for specific purposes, and therefore with a label of “*Noli me tangere*” upon it,—the inference is unavoidable, that an appropriation of 10,000 dollars to the Fund of the Bishop, could not be “unlocking the public treasury for the exclusive benefit of one sect of Christians.” It would not be UNLOCKING the treasury at all. It would only be the disposal of a sum deposited in the coffers of the state for express and specific destination—an appropriation, in plain language, of the Phoenix Premium. Yet a cry of religious favouritism—of making bare the legislative arm, to uphold a “sectarian faction”—“of exalting one ecclesiastical order above all the rest, in point of privilege”—has been set up and continued on this subject, from the beginning to the end of the controversy. We must, therefore, give Hamilton the praise of self-consistency. He has uniformly wielded the same weapon, and has always struck in the same place. If my arguments be well founded, however, they must wrest this weapon out of his hand; and what topic of pulpit eloquence he will then resort to, can hardly be determined. For the remainder of the subject will, in his hands, be very awkward and unwieldy. To me it does appear, that in relation to the Bishop's Fund, the members of the General Assembly considered themselves rather as the arbitrators for an association of individuals, than as the Legislators of the State of Connecticut.

But although we must allow Hamilton to be self-consistent in constantly repeating the same topic of discourse; yet his own good sense might lead him to conclude, *a priori*, that the multitude of remarks which he has brought to the subject, cannot all be reconciled with each other. For every substantial purpose of religion, all sects of Christians may be said to be upon the same footing. With a little variation, we may adopt the language of the political heresiarch of Monticello—We are all Presbyterians, and all Episcopalians: or, in the more applica-

ble phraseology of Hamilton himself---“Have we not all, substantially, the same faith? Have we not one Bible, one Atonement, and one Saviour? And do we not look for *one and the same Heaven?*” Our interests are, therefore, identically concentrated to the same point: And will it be pretended, that the assistance afforded to a part, is not conducive to the advantage of the whole? If we are all fellow-travellers in the same path, will you refuse to help in removing the difficulties in the way of a part, lest they should thus be able to reach the place of destination before you? On this topic, however, I shall not much insist. I advocate the claim of the petitioners for the Bishop’s Bonus, not as Episcopalians, but as men.

I come now to the second point in which my reasoning has been misrepresented. It seems as if my whole essay came out in a distorted and questionable shape, after passing through the medium of Hamilton’s mind. In my first article, I endeavoured to show, by a variety of considerations, that the original petition for the Phoenix Bank, was not rejected upon the ground of its being exceptionable in the clause relating to the Bishop’s Bonus. If the reader will take the pains to look at what I have said on this subject, (see pamph. p. 35--6,) and then compare it with the representation in Hamilton’s IVth number, (p. 67---68,) he may see how an ingenious writer can contrive to slip out from under the weight of an opponent’s argument---or how a dexterous fencer can parry a pass which is aimed at his vitals. On this subject, something like the following train of thought might be supposed to have passed through the mind of each of our Representatives:---Here is a petition for a new banking establishment, offering, as a condition to the grant, to distribute \$50,000 to the Medical and Academical Institutions of Yale College, and to the Fund of the Bishop of Connecticut.---Now, for myself, I am not willing to vote for the petition in this form. To grant it in this shape, would, in my view, be giving to the petitioners, not only a lucrative institution for themselves, but a power materially to assist other institutions; a kind of patronage which ought not, I think, to be vested in the hands of a private association; but to belong exclusively to the Government of the State. What confirms me in this opinion, is, that the petition, in its present form, has not the signatures of but THREE individuals; and to such a small number, I will especially oppose the transference of a prerogative which is a part of our own appropriate functions. I shall not vote, therefore, for the petition in this form. Not that I have any objections to the appropriations as specified in it---for what is it to me, how the petitioners choose that their money shall be disposed of?---but because I am jealous of my own rights, and tenacious of the prerogatives of the Legislature.

A variety of other considerations on the same point, the read-

er will find in my first essay. I have selected this, because it is the part most materially misrepresented. Listen, then, to the construction which Hamilton gives of reasoning similar to the above.---“The same carelessness and inattention to the facts of the case, is the foundation of your hypothesis, that the Legislature refused to pass the petition in its exceptionable form, merely because it would be derogatory to their dignity to suffer “individuals under *no authoritative association*,” to make the appropriations suggested. In plainer language, here was a sort of amicable contest, and the Legislature and the petitioners were by the ears, to know which should have the credit of distributing this 50,000 dollars, in the mode specified; a mode which, according to your idea, they both agreed was the most judicious and eligible; and finally, the petitioners, as being the most magnanimous and courteous, yielded, as in duty bound, the point of etiquette to their superiors; and then, their superiors, like a pack of rogues, as they were, having got so large a sum into their clutches, very coolly and honestly determined to cheat the true owners, and keep it all to themselves.”

Here he waves his goose-quill “*in triumph over his prostrate foe*,” and assails me, as usual, with a rank of exclamation points. The reader will not find in my article, the remotest countenance for the conclusion respecting the “amicable contest here mentioned, nor any thing which warrants the inference, that our Legislators are “swindlers” and “rogues.” And are you ready to contend, Hamilton, that every censure upon the proceedings of the Legislature, amounts to an imputation of roguery? Have you relinquished your disbelief “in Legislative infallibility?”—Have you forgot that men “may be wheedled into measures?” Have you changed your opinion *in one little month*, and are not willing that they should now avail themselves of the palliatives which you formerly gave them on account of their natural fallibility? Do you remember to have ever said, “you did not believe that a Connecticut Legislature was ever *knowingly* and *wilfully* guilty of corruption or oppression?” And will you now deny me the privilege of adopting the same language?

Having finished this division of the subject, I will proceed next to examine an argument upon which much stress has been laid by Hamilton, and which, therefore, cannot be suffered to remain unnoticed. According to him, the repeated refusal of the Legislature to deliver the 10,000 dollars to the trustees of the Bishop’s Fund, “is *conclusive* evidence that when they received the Bonus, they never intended to appropriate any part of it in this way.” P. 66. In order to settle this question, I beg leave to introduce here an analogous case, which came before the late Superior Court. It seems that a gentleman in this State married a lady who lost a first husband in Maryland; and, after her decease, promised to her only surviving child, the personal

property of her former husband, Subsequently, however, he was wrought upon to believe that the performance of his promise might involve him in some difficulty; and he accordingly repelled the importunities of his son-in-law, by a resolute refusal to deliver up the property. As the young man's patience was not absolutely inexhaustible, he brought a suit against his father-in-law, and compelled him into the performance of his promise. But, according to Hamilton's interpretation, the court and jury were very egregiously mistaken in their decision on this point--the refusal of the defendant to give up the property, was "such conclusive evidence," that when he made the promise, he never intended to perform it! And are we then to believe, that men never change their minds? That what were their intentions in time past, are *conclusively* inferable from their subsequent behaviour?

The conduct of the Legislature is precisely analogous to the case of the father-in-law above mentioned. When they first received the Phoenix Bonus, there was not, perhaps, a doubt on the mind of any person, that they would withhold the portion destined for the Bishop's Fund. By subsequent management, however, they were *wheedled* out of their previous intentions, and determined to refuse the Episcopalians their portion of the Bonus. There is no occasion to suppose, here, that our Legislators are swindlers, or rogues; but if they have been unwittingly led to adopt an unjust course of measures, are we to be called clamorous factionists and sectarian fanatics, because we have attempted to bring them back to their former rectitude? Are we to be considered as accusing them of downright villainy, because we have endeavoured to expose a slight declination from duty?*

According to the legerdemain by which Hamilton has managed my "letters of the alphabet," they do not, I confess, throw much light on the argument. With precisely the spirit

* It seems as if Hamilton had mistook the whole aim and object of my first paper. In a note (p. 70.) he has contrived to make me the original asserter of a proposition which I formerly drew *ex absurdo* from *his* mode of interpreting the acts of the Legislature. "I think (says he) that the Legislature did imprudently in receiving the Bonus at all; *but not with Lokman, that they very nearly approximated to corruption.*" Nothing can be at a greater distance from the construction I put upon the conduct of the General Assembly. If the reader recollects any thing of my first number, he need not certainly be told, that I was there endeavouring to disprove the suppositions of Hamilton, by showing the absurdities which they involved; and, among other things, I drew the inference *from his reasoning*, that the Legislature had been guilty of something which *looked like corruption*. For this conclusion, *he* is clearly responsible. This imputation, which his argument necessarily brought upon our Legislators, was made the very ground upon which I was induced to reject *his* representation of the matter. So far from thinking the Legislators had actually "approximated to corruption," I scouted the idea of their having committed so aggravated a misdemeanour. See p. 34.

of a sinking man who catches at a straw, he has taken advantage of an immaterial difference between the actual state of the facts, and the fictitious case of my invention, to bring ridicule upon the whole device. Had that writer attended more than he seems to have done, to the liberal rule which is laid down by Tully, in regard to legitimate analogies, he would not have rambled over two pages of wild conclusions which have very little relevancy to the question. "*Non res tota toti rei necesse est similis sit, (says Cicero, Ad Heren. lib. iv.) sed ad ipsum, ad quod conferetur, similitudinem habeat oportet,*"—It is not necessary that the two cases should coincide in every particular, but that they should be similar in those points for which they were expressly introduced. Now, according to my disposition of the letters, the petitioner for the bank, and not E, the Trustee of the Bishop's Fund, was made to expostulate with his Majesty on account of his refusal to complete the appropriation as he had begun it. Can it make any difference who is the complainant, provided the person complained of be guilty? All the members of the community,—not E only, but every letter in the Alphabet,—might with equal propriety cry out against the injustice of his Royal Highness. I was myself aware, at the time of writing that article, of the dissimilarity pointed out by Hamilton; but I did not think he would have made it a ground of discarding and ridiculing the whole contrivance. If a part of the Bonus was claimable at all from his Majesty, could it make any alteration, in point of right, whether the demand was preferred by E, or by the original petitioner for the Bank?

Much has been said by Hamilton of the contrast between the conduct of the Corporation of Yale College, and that of the Trustees of the Bishop's Fund. He asks the Episcopalians very triumphantly, why they do not imitate the meek spirit of uncomplaining patience which has always been exhibited by the President and Fellows of our College? If the Corporation supposed that their claim to \$20,000 was well founded, think you they would be so long silent on the subject? According to this writer, *they* have not yet learnt the method of "insulting the Legislature" by impudently urging a claim which they know to be unfounded.—You, Hamilton, who seem to have been privy to the occurrences behind the scene, ought to tread very lightly on this ground. There is a very satisfactory reason for the silence of the College Corporation on this subject. When the Phoenix Bonus shall have mingled and coalesced with the legitimate funds of the State,---when the Episcopalians shall have ceased to utter a just complaint, because they see no prospect of its being listened to,---when, in short, the whole transaction respecting the Phoenix Bank shall have sunk into forgetfulness, and the very name of BONUS be heard no

more at all,---I shall be egregiously disappointed, if a *donation* from the State does not remunerate the stillness which has been preserved within the walls of Yale College. It will be then impossible for the Episcopalians to claim a similar treatment at the hands of their Representatives. They cannot then "insult the Legislature" by daring to demand their dues ;---and when they have once shut their mouths upon the subject, the Bonus may be disposed of as will best suit the pleasures of our Representatives, or most conduce to the advantage of the *good old cause*. The Corporation of Yale College have not *always* been so peaceful as they are now. Why did they once unite with the Episcopalians in a prayer for the appropriation of the Bonus ? and, after thus asserting their claim, what Legislative magic has spell-bound them in the arms of unresisting silence ?

I have now finished what little I had to say at this time on the long-agitated subject of the Phoenix Bonus ; and, as my scanty stock of thought is now exhausted, I hope the future misrepresentations of my antagonists will not compel me again to engage in the field of dispute. I did not enter the lists to cover the Legislature with obloquy, or "to shake my censorial rod over their heads." I entertain no ill will, either against them, or against the writer who has made such awkward work in endeavoring to rectify my mistakes. He has *generally* treated me with candour,---and I hope I have reciprocated his civility.

Παύσαι κατ' ἑρῶν. Ἀκηρότε· ἐωρέκατε· ἔχετε· δικάζετε·

LOKMAN.

ERRATA.

THERE are some very material typographical mistakes in the republication of my first article. In the prayer which I put into the mouth of the fictitious petitioner, the latter clause stood in the news-paper :—"His Majesty would be graciously pleased to distribute the bonus according to the original understanding of his Royal Highness and his humble petitioner ;" that is, according to the mutual agreement between the two. In the republication, however, this meaning is entirely destroyed by placing a semi-colon directly after the word "his Royal Highness," thus :—"according to the original understanding of his Royal Highness ; and your humble petitioner," &c. ; that is, "and your petitioner will ever pray," &c.—It will be seen at once to make complete nonsense of the passage.

Again : In the last sentence of my first number, by substituting the word "*formally*" for the word "*formality*," a like perversion of meaning has been occasioned. As it now stands, the passage would seem to refer to the petition of the Trustees of the Bishop's Fund ; whereas, in the original, it had reference to the motives of the Legislature in refusing to grant the prayer of the petitioners for a Bank. By comparing the sentence thus reprinted with the one in the news-paper, the accuracy of this remark will fully appear.

LOKMAN.

Medical Institution of Yale College.

A PROFOUND writer on the Wealth of Nations, Adam Smith, in his article on the "expense of institutions for the education of youth," says, that "*Whatever forces a certain number of students to any College or University, independent of the merit or reputation of the Teachers, tends more or less to diminish the necessity of that merit or reputation.*"

Merit in the instructors, on which durable reputation is founded, should be the great object of Legislative measures to promote the utility of a literary institution. When the officers are meritorious, the students will be more diligent, more inclined to study, more happy in their employment, and they will be more thoroughly and successfully taught. When the State *compels* students to study at the Medical Institution, before they can practise Physic, or *compels* them to incur greater expense by attending lectures at Institutions in other States; such a law diminishes the necessity of *equal* merit in our Medical Professors; and *less* merit in the officers would be necessary, if the scholars were forced to study at this institution; and not allowed the privilege, at greater expense, to study at some public institution in a neighbouring State. If no *liberal* education can be acquired, which liberal education should be made by law or custom, *necessary* to preaching in the pulpit, or pleading at the bar, or practising physic, except at *Yale College*, or at some literary institution, in another State, where the expenses would be increased; it is evident that a less degree of merit in the officers of Yale College would be sufficient to draw the same number of students to that seminary, than would be requisite without the operation of such a law and such a custom; and that the merit of these officers would diminish in proportion to the force of that law or custom.

"Every medical student, (says the law establishing the Medical Institution,) who shall commence the study of Physic or Surgery, after the foregoing articles shall be complied with, and lectures commence upon the several branches above mentioned, *shall attend one course of each of the above systems of lectures*, UNDER THE PROFESSORS OF THE MEDICAL INSTITUTION OF YALE COLLEGE, or some other public Medical Institution, previous to an *examination* for a license." There being no other public Medical Institution in this State, except the Medical Institution of Yale College, students by the operation of this law are not at *liberty*, however well qualified, to be examined for a license to practice physic, unless they have studied *one* term under these test professors, or are *driven* out of the State with much greater expense.

These medical professors of the Saybrook Platform creed, have then no competition with *individual* practitioners of physic, however eminent, *to obtain students*. They have also no stimulus arising from the merit of Episcopal practitioners, as to holding their own offices ; for Yale College has established her *creed*, excluding Episcopal professors from the Medical Institution.

The treasurer and prudential committee of Yale College manage the fiscal and prudential concerns of the Medical Institution ; and no vote is valid in that Institution without the consent of the president of the mother institution.

Are there not many physicians in the State *as* capable of instructing their pupils in physic and surgery, and qualifying them for a license ? It would be invidious to give the names of a great number of physicians, equal in capacity and experience with the religious medical professors of the Medical Institution. Nor must any physician, if he happens to be a Churchman, ever become a professor of that Institution. No, nor will he ever, we believe, receive its *honours*, if we judge from the practise of Yale College. There may be a solitary case of such an honour, in the course of a century, being conferred on a Churchman ; but Yale College knows well her men, and their religion, before her pleasure crowns them with her honours.

Such are the clogs, imposed by law, upon the merit of both instructors and students in physic and surgery, in this State. As the circle of competition is lessened, so is the necessity of qualification in the teachers and learners diminished ; and if the necessity, the *reality* of merit or of reputation, in the same ratio, will be diminished.

In *one* of the learned professions, then, no person can legally employ his talents, in our State, unless he be admitted by *test* officers, into the religious Medical Institution, and there remain under the instruction of the same *test* officers, during *one* term ; unless he be there *examined* by an equal number of these *test* officers, with those of the Medical Society, (which society is already nearly extinct,) for a license legally to charge and collect fees for his services. Nor can this person, thus hampered by the Saybrook Platform creed, ever obtain the honour of a degree in his profession, or a doctorate, without studying *two* courses at this medical, or some other public medical institution, “ where a similar course of public instruction is pursued ;” without obtaining the *signature* of the president of Yale College, who is compelled by the law of said College, to subscribe and publicly to read the same Saybrook Platform creed or test of faith ; nor without paying the said president of Yale College a gratuity of four dollars for the above said degree of Doctor of Medicine, three dollars to each of the examining committee, and ten dollars to the Medical Society. See 8th article of the above recited

law. The 9th article provides for honorary degrees being conferred by the president, at the recommendation of the Medical Convention.

But this body being on the verge of dissolution, such a provision must soon be inoperative. In the language of a venerable member of the Medical Convention, "by a union with Yale College, the Medical Society has committed *suicide*."

They have been wheedled and squeezed and fraternized out of their existence. And when this work of love is finished, the *flourish* about the *nomination* of officers of the Medical Institution, being an equal degree in the Medical Convention, will be duly appreciated; and then, we think, no man can be found who will deny that one of the learned professions is under the control of a *religious* denomination in the State of Connecticut; and that the Saybrook Platform creed is now as much the *established* religion, for this profession, as it was from the year 1708 to our independence in 1784. The third paragraph of this law proceeds: "Be it further enacted, That *so much* of the act, entitled, An Act to incorporate a Medical Society, as respects the appointing of county committees for the *examination* of medical students, and the granting of *licenses* to them, and that so much of the act as respects the granting of *honorary degrees*, be, and the same is hereby *repealed*." Then, do let us ask, what is left to the Medical Society? The examination of medical students for *licenses* to practise, and the granting of *honorary degrees*, belong to Yale College, and to the Medical Institution, and to a strange sort of nominal, joint, pretended, body of Physicians, *once* incorporated by the State, under the title of Medical Society. Can the Medical Society, however, examine students? No. Can they grant licenses? No. Can they grant *honorary degrees* in Medicine? No. The law continues, twelfth article: "All persons licensed in *future* to practise physic or surgery, agreeably to the foregoing provisions, shall be of course members of the Medical Society, in the respective counties where they reside." And how long will it be, before every member of the Medical Society, if it should exist, will have *studied* and been *licensed* by the religious Medical Institution? A very few years. There will then be no member of the Medical Society who has not been subject to the effect and power of these Medical test Professors of the Medical Institution. No practitioner of physic, no student in medicine, no doctorate conferred, in physic or surgery, in the State of Connecticut, without the pleasure of these *test* officers.

It is complained of by "Hamilton," that Episcopacy compelled Schoolmasters and Divines in England, to subscribe to the 39 articles; although, from 1708 to our independence, the Saybrook Platform was in this State the *established* religion in matters of faith and government. But he now triumphs in the ex-

clusion from practice of all physicians who do not study under the Saybrook Platform professors ; and in the exclusion from the *honours* of their profession, of all those who have not studied *two* courses under these professors, and obtained the signature of the President of Yale College ! This is *liberal* conduct, "among republicans, whose first principle it is, says Hamilton, that no religion is to be *imposed* upon us by government, or to draw to its aid the revenues of the State!"

This writer is much vexed, because Toleration says that "the Literary Institutions of the State are *favouring* Presbyterianism." Yes, yes, they not only *favour* Presbyterianism, but, from the existence of these laws, they *favour* the indolence and want of merit of the professors and pupils, in one literary profession.

We pronounce to be odious, these clogs upon merit, and this *religious* establishment, in the Medical Institution.

"Let us cherish this seminary of Physicians, so useful to *all* sects," &c. utters Hamilton. To *all* sects ! to *one* sect ! It is as destructive to merit in science, as to a fair toleration in religion. The Assembly, we trust, will abolish these test laws, thus detrimental to merit, and to "the free exercise of religion." Are not these laws opposed to the spirit of the Toleration Act ? Do they not *violate* the Constitution of the United States ? It is a solemn inquiry : Let it be as solemnly investigated.

These laws were enacted in 1810 ; not in 1708, as in the case of Yale College, when the Saybrook Platform was *professedly* the *established* religion. They have been enacted by the influence of Yale College, to keep down Churchmen. Toleration indeed, in a certain sense, will suffer Churchmen to *live* upon bread and water, as in Turkey. But this cannot be toleration in a Republic : nor is it pretended that such a toleration would be agreeable to the views of any Congregationalist. Then, gentlemen of the Assembly, annul the odious provisions of this law, and allow to other denominations a *full* toleration. We address you with earnestness to do away these invidious distinctions. No such laws are wanted by Churchmen. They wish to *compel* no man, before he can pursue a learned profession, to study with, or be examined by, Episcopal professors. Such compulsion is not consistent with a liberal toleration.

"Whatever *forces* a certain number of students to any College or University, independent of the merit or reputation of the teachers, tends more or less to diminish the necessity of that merit or reputation." And since these laws of the State *force* students to the Medical Institution of Yale College, they diminish the necessity of the merit or reputation of its officers and students. And since there is an intimate connection with the Mother College, the same maxim of this great man applies with force to the officers and students of Yale College.

TOLERATION.

Episcopacy as liberal as Presbyterianism.*

TO show the reasonableness and necessity of the ordination of ministers in the Christian Church, the following extracts from an English writer will be read with interest, as bearing on the subject.

"This rite (viz. ordination) has, by every true son of the Church of England, been at all times considered as of the highest importance; as an ordinance, indeed, of Christ, through the medium of the Holy Ghost, as laying men under the most sacred obligations. Except among the *Independents*, who sprung up under Cromwell, it never entered into the head of any man, calling himself a Christian, to suppose that the ordination of the clergy is a *useless* ceremony, until it became fashionable to confound the religion of Christ with what Philosophers call the religion of nature."

"Were Christianity nothing but a system of ethics founded on the relation which subsists between God as the Creator and Governor of the world, and man as a rational creature, it would indeed be ridiculous to inquire by what *form*, or what *authority*, the clergy are ordained; because, in that case, the *ablest* moralist, whether *ordained* or not, would, of course, be the ablest and *most useful* minister. But if Christianity be, as it certainly is, an *instituted* religion, founded on the *means* employed by God to restore to mankind that *immortality* which all had forfeited by the sin of Adam; and if immortality be not now, nor ever was the *right* of man, either as *inherent* in his nature, or as *the reward of moral virtue*, (and this is the dictate of sober philosophy as well of the gospel,) it follows that *immortality*, if conferred upon man, must be conferred as a "*free gift*" upon such *conditions* as seemed best to the all-wise Giver. But the *rites* of a religion founded on a *free gift* must derive all the value, and the ministers of that religion all their *authority*, not from the *relations of nature*, but from the positive appointment of the *Author of the gift*; and he who maintains that any man, who is qualified by *knowledge*, may act as a minister of the gospel, though he be not ordained, must, to be consistent, claim to *himself* immortality, not as "the gift of God through Jesus Christ our Lord," but either as the *inherent right* of his nature, of which he cannot be deprived, or as a debt *due by God to his merit*.

* We have used this term because of the *sneer* of Hamilton against the Divine right of Bishops, in the second sentence of his first piece. See page 10th, No. 2. He could refrain no longer from attacking Episcopacy.

"Such arrogant claims are in direct opposition as well to the letter as to the spirit of the Gospel; and, therefore, he who has read the New Testament with any degree of intelligence, and believes it to be a *revelation* from heaven, must be convinced that from *it only* he can learn *who* they are who have *authority* from Christ to preach the word, and to administer the *ordinances* of his religion."

The Congregationalists, in the Platform of Church Discipline presented to the Churches and General Court, anno 1648, at Cambridge, and approved in 1679 by the Synod, and in 1680 by the Assembly at Boston, *admit*, that "where there are no Elders, (or ministers,) imposition of hands may be performed by the *Brethren*, orderly chosen by the church thereunto;" that "*ordination* doth not constitute an officer, nor give him the *essentials* of his office;" but they also say, that if the church so desire, we see not why imposition of hands may not be performed by the Elders of other Churches; "page 36 of the edition of 1808. Church officers are not only to be chosen by the church, but *ordained* by the imposition of hands, and prayer; with which, at the ordination of Elders, *fasting* also is to be joined." Whether these Christians were Independents, is not known to the writer. They however held, that the "church had power to choose their officers and ministers, and, in case of manifest unworthiness and delinquency, to *depose* them; for (say they) to open and shut, to choose and refuse, to constitute in office, and remove from office, are acts belonging to the same power." But that they viewed with *reverence* the ordination of their officers, (although they allowed of laying on of hands by the *Brethren*, or of lay-ordination, and although the Brethren could *depose* the officers of *their own* ordination,) is *proved* by their *fasting* and *prayer*, previous to the ceremony.—Also, in the 28th chapter, they declare, that "there be only two sacraments ordained by Christ our Lord in the Gospel, that is to say, Baptism and the Lord's Supper; neither of which may be dispensed by any but by a *minister* of the word *lawfully* called." And of the Lord's Supper, in the 30th chapter, they say, that "the Lord Jesus hath in this ordinance appointed his *ministers* to declare his word of institution to the people, to pray and *bless* the elements of bread and wine, and thereby to set them apart from a common to an *holy* use," &c.

Then it appears, from the Cambridge Platform, that although the Brethren had the *authority* to ordain ministers, yet *ordained* ministers were necessary to the due administration of the Sacraments in the church.

The Saybrook Platform is silent with respect to lay-ordination, unless it is recognized in the 12th page, in an extract from Trumbull's History of Connecticut, where he says, that "the Cambridge Platform, for 60 years, had been the general plan of

discipline and church fellowship in New-England." We have heard of ordination by the *Brethren* at Stratford; but that might have been previous to the establishment by the Assembly, of the Saybrook Platform. The same extracts relating to the sacraments coming from both platforms, we of course conclude, that *ordinations*, since that period, have been performed by the Clergy, and not by the Brethren; and that this *rite* is esteemed as "constituting an officer, and giving him the *essentials* of his office." For he cannot duly administer the sacraments without this *rite*, nor be settled in a congregation. And it may be added, that the same words are found in the 27th and 29th chapters of "the Confession of Faith, the Catechisms, and the DIRECTORY for the Worship of God, together with the Plan of Government and Discipline of the Presbyterian Church of the United States."

We are at a loss as to the fact, whether a union has taken place between the Congregationalists in New-England, and the Presbyterians, respecting church government. In matters of faith, they have the same confession; viz. the Westminster. It is believed that the Congregationalists have a seat in the General Assembly of the Presbyterians, strictly so called. But whether the Saybrook and Cambridge forms of church government are abolished by Congregationalists, and a close union with Presbyterians has been established; or, whether Congregationalists sit in their General Assembly by courtesy, for mutual harmony, or *right*, is unknown to us.

Nor do we know whether the Saybrook Platform, in relation to either church government or to *doctrine*, is the standard for the Congregationalists in this State. The frequent alterations of recent date, made by particular churches in their creeds, holds out an entire *independency* on *any* general standard of faith. But if Congregationalism and *Independency* are swallowed up in Presbyterianism, this latter mode of church government is as precise, definite and full, on the subject of ordination, as is Episcopacy; and this will appear from their "mode of ordination," page 374 of the edition of 1815, printed at Philadelphia. "Then the presiding Bishop* shall, by *prayer* and the *laying on of hands* of the Presbytery, according to the Apostolic example, *solemnly ordain* him to the *holy* office of the gospel ministry." And at page 352 it says, that "the Church session consists of the minister or ministers and *Elders* of a particular congregation; of whom three Elders, if there be

* Note to page 346, of the Presbyterian Directory. "As the office and character of a gospel minister is particularly and fully described in the Scriptures, under the title of *Bishop*; and as this term is peculiarly expressive of his duty as overseer of the flock, it ought not to be rejected."

that number in the congregation, with the minister, shall be a quorum to do business. The church session is competent to the spiritual government of the congregation." And from these extracts, it is manifest that the powers of ordination and of church government are taken from the Brethren (the Elders being ruling Elders) by the Presbyterian form of church government, as well as by the Episcopal; and that ordinations are held to convey *spiritual* authority by "laying on of hands" by the Presbytery, in one Church; and, in the Episcopal Church, by "laying on of the hands" of the Bishop. The Bishop is considered by Presbyterians as only a *presiding* officer among the Elders or Ministers or Presbyters, who ordain and govern; and the Bishop is considered by Episcopalians as constituting a *third* order among the Clergy, possessing *alone* the powers of ordination and government in the Church. And, says Doctor Miller, at page 347 of his first volume, it is only so far as *any* succession flows through the line of Presbyters, that "ordination" "is either *regular* or *valid*. It is the *laying on of hands of the Presbytery*, that constitutes a *spiritual* ordination; and it is because Episcopal Bishops are *Presbyters*, and assisted in *all* ordinations by *other Presbyters*, that we consider their ordaining acts, on the principles of scripture and primitive usage, as *valid*."

But from other passages, it is evident that Doctor Miller does not hold to the necessity of an *uninterrupted* succession in the ministry from the Apostles, as do Doctor Mason of New-York, President Stiles,* and the generality of Presbyterians. The Presbyterians hold to an *uninterrupted* succession through *Presbyters*; and the Episcopalians, through Bishops, in their sense of that term, viz. as a third and superior order of ministers. The Presbyterians believe in the equality of the ministry; the Episcopalians, in the superiority of the ordaining and governing power, which, say they, was in the Apostles, and their successors, whose successors are Bishops, and not Presbyters.—Both believe in the *divine* right of the ministry. Presbyterians declaim against Bishops in the Episcopal sense, as of *human invention*—as Prelatical, Arminian, and corrupt, and not to be found in scripture. Episcopalians say, that *ordination* by Pres-

"The ministry, (says President Stiles,) is not of men, but of Christ. The Christian Priesthood, as well as that of Moses, was from heaven; and this not only in their first institution, but in their subsequent transmission. The one was limited to the family of Aaron; the other, confined to no family or nation, was to perpetuate its own succession, by selecting from among Jews and Gentiles, persons of approved abilities and piety, and separating them to this holy office by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery. This succession has thus actually taken place in the Christian Church in general, from the apostolic age to this day." (Ordin. Serm. N. L. p. 4. 5.)

byters, in the Presbyterian sense of that term, is not to be found in scripture ; that it is a human contrivance to usurp the powers of the Bishop ; that Presbyters have no legal government in the Church ; and that their ordinations are *invalid*.—So that, on the score of *Charity*, they are equally rigid in denouncing each other, and equally full in the belief of the *divine* right of the Presbytery, and of the *divine* right of the Bishop.

According to Doctor Miller, the ordination of deacons, (who, in the system of Episcopacy, are the lowest order of Clergy,) is rendered *null* and *void*, because the Bishop *alone* ordains them, without assistance from Presbyters or Priests ; who join him in laying on of hands upon a Priest or Presbyter. In the Greek Church, which is the established religion in Russia, the Bishop *alone* ordains both Presbyters and Deacons. That Church, then, of course, is *unchurched*, in the Presbyterian view of a *valid* ordination. Having no lawful ministry, their administration of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, must be without efficacy in this large portion of Europe. Doctor How, in his volume, referred to in our concluding number, has endeavoured to prove, that in the Latin Church, the Bishop *alone* ordained, until the Council of Carthage, in the *fourth* century ; and if he has been successful in establishing this fact, it follows, since the succession in the ministry must be uninterrupted, that Presbytery, if consistent, *unchurches* every Christian Church on this globe, except that which Doctor Buchanan proves to exist in Asia. Her own authority to administer the sacraments is derived through the Latin Church ; and through the same channel is derived the authority of the Episcopal Church.

Episcopacy unchurches the Presbyterians in Europe and America. And both Presbytery and Episcopacy unchurch the Quakers, who believe that the sacraments are not to be continued in the Church, and ought to be viewed, where baptism and the eucharist are spoken of in Scripture, as metaphorical expressions and allegories.

From the *principles* maintained in the standards of Congregationalists, Presbyterians and Episcopalians, and in the Books of their respective writers, such then are the logical *inferences* relating to the *charity* which each entertains towards the other denominations. But in *practice*, we conceive, that Episcopalians have more charity for other denominations, than have Presbyterians or Congregationalists. Episcopalians do not *excommunicate* their members for leaving their communion, and joining *any other* communion. They freely admit to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, members in regular standing, of the Presbyterian or Congregational churches. And it is believed that, for a century, no person has been *excommunicated*, in England or America, for *any crime*, whatever may be its enormity. They

are forbidden to partake of the elements ; they are admonished, and perhaps threatened with the execution of this tremendous sentence ; but this punishment has not been inflicted. They are left with their Judge and Avenger in another world. Jesus will pronounce, and execute sentence, at the general judgment.

It will not be denied that Congregationalists, in this State, have often *excommunicated* their members for leaving their communion, and joining the Episcopal communion, without any charge of *immorality*, or being punished with any other evidence of their irregular standing, or want of reputation, than that of joining the Episcopal communion. Nor will it be said that this is not the *recent* practice of many Presbyterian Churches in Connecticut.

And for our present purpose, we will pursue this inquiry no further ; it being palpable, that Presbyterians lay as much stress upon valid ordinations, as Episcopalians ;—and that both treat this *rite* as necessary to the *valid* administration of the Sacraments.

Which mode is most accordant with scripture, we shall not attempt to give an opinion. Nor is it important, in this discussion, which, in point of fact, is to be found in the scriptures. Both are to be tolerated, in this State, whether one denomination is more or less tolerant or charitable than the other ; or whether both systems of church government agree or disagree with the word of God.

We have already shown, in our number headed Seabury College, that the Saybrook Platform recognizes the *divine* right of a particular church, the *divine* right of a deacon, and the *divine* right of a minister ; which proves, that Congregationalists do not differ from Presbyterians and Episcopalians, in their *divine* right of the Presbytery, or *divine* right of the Bishop. The *governmental* part of the 39 articles, it must follow, are as charitable as the *governmental* part of the Saybrook Platform, and the Presbyterian Directory ; and the *doctrinal* part of the 39 articles are expressly declared, by the Saybrook Platform, “to be agreeable to the only rule of faith,” viz. the scriptural rule. And in the event of obtaining a charter for a College, the 39 articles, as to *government* and *doctrine*, will be the standard, and not the Saybrook Platform and Westminster Confession of Faith.

There are warm disputes between Calvinists and Anti-Calvinists, upon the doctrines taught by these 39 articles of religion ; and this circumstance is high proof, we conceive, of their accordance with Scripture. Anti-Calvinistic Churchmen view them as favouring neither Calvinism, nor Arminianism, nor Socinianism, nor any human system of divinity whatever. They are given, in many instances, in the words of Scripture. They are directed principally against the Church of Rome ; and without a knowledge of the controversy in that Church, which termina-

ⁱⁿted the Reformation, some passages in these articles are not easily understood.

The word Arminian is used by Yale College, as applicable to the Episcopal Church, which must relate to the *doctrines* of these 39 articles. *Her* testimony then, is against their Calvinism. She uses this term to terrify weak minds, and to keep down the Episcopal Church. Calvinism or Arminianism, or Socinianism, is not *yet* substituted for Christianity. Calvin's Institutes are not quite equal to the Bible.

Doctor How, in his volume before spoken of, discusses this subject with perspicuity and force, against their Calvinistic tendency; and his *arguments* will perhaps be as satisfactory as Mr. Dyer's *opinion*, contained in an extract on the last page of Hamilton's pamphlet. And perhaps the Doctor's facts on the divine right of Bishops may be as instructive as Hamilton's creed, which he gives the public in his preface, page 7. But, since Calvinists claim the 39 articles to be in their favour, it is hoped that consistency will induce them not to oppose the grant of an Episcopal College, on the ground of their Anti-Calvinism.

As to the necessity, then, of valid ordination of ministers; as to strictness in the *government* of the Church; as to correctness in *doctrine*; and as to liberality in carrying principles into rigid execution; the 39 articles, and the Professors who adhere to them as their system of faith and form of government, are not subject to the charge of more *uncharitableness*, than are the Saybrook Platform, and the adherents to that system of faith and form of church government.

No objection, then, can be made to the 39 articles, in point of *illiberality*: and now let us inquire whether any other pretence can be raised against the right of Churchmen to an incorporated Seminary of Learning? TOLERATION.

No. XIX.

Right of Churchmen to a College :

AND

What do Episcopalians ask from the Assembly ?

- 1st. THEY ask for the liberty to grant testimonials of merit.
- 2d. They ask for the privilege of endowing a Literary Institution, which will support their own faith and worship.

Should the first request be granted, the evidence of merit will only be, as the respectability of the College; and why should the ability to confer such a testimonial, be always confined to *one* sect, to the officers of Yale College? and Churchmen be for ever debarred from the exercise of this power? Is there no capacity

in Churchmen for making proficiency in literature, or does their religion destroy their faculties? Yale College takes the *money* of Churchmen for *teaching* their sons; but perhaps, after they leave the walls of College, their capability to judge of literary merit ceases, and their progress in knowledge beomes retrograde, because they do not *attend* worship at the Meeting-House, instead of the Church. But as a general rule, we must justify Yale College in taking the money of Churchmen, because she often succeeds in bringing over to the Saybrook Platform creed, many children of Episcopal parents, and inspiring them with hatred of Episcopacy; and of course, these pupils then become excellent judges of literary merit.

Suppose that a man of equal talents and worth with the president of Yale College, should give a *diploma* to a certain individual; would it afford the same evidence of proficiency in science, with the usual testimonial granted by the president? This question is asked, to show the great influence which is enjoyed by a college, and which is dispensed at the will of her officers, and which cannot be obtained by any other means. Should the Institution be without *fame*, however, the degree would not be desired; and should it have less reputation than Yale College, the honour and the influence would be lessened in the same ratio. No injury then can be sustained by other colleges, even should Seabury College (Bishop Seabury's name deserving perpetuity) not be respectable, or, should its officers not be equal judges of merit. The importance of a degree, depends on the reputation of the College. Yale College, then, cannot be injured, by allowing to Churchmen the power of conferring degrees in literature.

Are not Churchmen, and ought they not to be as much attached to their religion, as other denominations? Have they not as much solicitude for the welfare of their children? Do they not know the advantage of securing the impressions of youth in favour of their own faith and worship? Do they not know the influence which instructors enjoy over the minds of their pupils? Do they not *love* their offspring?

Will any man, then, stand up against them for wishing to use the same means to train up their children, which are *exclusively*, in this country, in the hands of Presbyterians? There is not, in this Union, an Episcopal College. All other denominations have Colleges. The Common Prayer is not used in any college, we believe, in America. The expense of a European education can be borne by very few; and the habits and morals of youth, are always much endangered, by reason of great distance from parental government. The possibility, then, of an Episcopal education for their sons, is within the means of few parents; and the danger great in the event of that possibility. Is not the situation of Churchmen peculiarly distressing in this respect; and can any man who has affection for his children, and is serious in his religious sentiments, raise up his hands against them, in this

important concern? Although they have been twice disappointed by the Assembly, we cannot believe a *third* application will be unsuccessful.

Episcopalians ask also for the privilege of *endowing* a College, which will support their own faith, and mode of worship.

They ask not of the State for funds* to found this college.—Yale College had but little for its support, in its commencement. Its endowment, when founded, was only forty volumes of books, and they came from the clergy. It long struggled with difficulties, and a full portion of these are expected to be borne by Churchmen in rearing a respectable college. Let them, however, make the experiment. We believe that all the colleges which have maintained a high reputation, began their career with very small means, as to money. The diligence of their professors is more certain and constant, and the pupils better taught, than where reliance upon *money*, for the prosperity of the seminary, is the chief stimulant to exertion. It is believed that a building may be erected, and the necessary philosophical instruments may be procured, by individual donations. It will attract the regard, and we hope the affection of Episcopalians, throughout the Union. And for this reason, we may assert, that considerable sums of money will be spent in our State, by students, whose parents reside in other States. Minorities, in religion, as well as politics, are more closely united, and more disposed to assist each other, than majorities; and by the operation of this principle, we may act upon the belief, that although the advantages, in point of improvement in science, be not

* Donations to Yale College by the General Assembly.—From 1701 to 1755, (54 years,) £60 sterling per annum. 1716, £250 sterling. 1722, £115 and £120 sterling. 1732, 300 acres of land in each of the towns of Canaan, Norfolk, Goshen, Cornwall and Kent. 1740, £53. 1741, £42. 1742, £40. 1745, £54. 1749, £363. 1751, £500. 1754, £230. 1765, £245 13s. 9d sterling. The land is not reckoned in this computation; and money was perhaps three times its present worth.

About 20 years ago, Yale College had a grant from the Assembly, of some old, unliquidated claims; from which she realized a *large sum* of money, so large that the amount has been kept *private*. What other grants were made, from 1765 to 1795, by the Legislature, or whether any, are not known to us.

Large donations were made by Episcopalians; and it is not probable that, without this aid, the existence of the College would have ceased. Elihu Yale, Governor of the East-India Company, whose name the seminary perpetuates, was an Episcopalian. His donations, from 1717 to 1721, amount to £500 sterling.

In 1730, the Rev. Dr. George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne, (a *Bishop*, Mr. Hamilton,) gave to the College 96 acres of land in Rhode-Island, and 1000 volumes of books, including his own works, valued at £400 sterling.

Yale College, at the time she received the balance from the State, of its claims upon the United States, for services rendered during the revolutionary war, *admitted* into the Corporation six members of the Council.

This looks like Church and State!

equal to those in some colleges, yet Seabury College will be preferred by Churchmen. Their sons, as to religion, will be better educated. This policy will strengthen the Institution, where clergymen can be nurtured, for the growth of their religion---seminaries of learning being the most effectual agents in propagating religion. This last truth is as well known to Churchmen, as to other denominations of Christians. Look at the conduct of Presbyterians---almost all the Universities are in their hands! And how wide spread is their religion? Have not Churchmen some *zeal* for their principles? And this example, set them by other denominations, it is hoped they will be permitted by Presbyterians, to copy. Such zeal is according to knowledge.

But we are, we fear, writing *idly*. The general principles of our government, in regard to religion, we are apprehensive are not understood. In 1784, to be sure, a law was passed by the Assembly, which has been with propriety called the *toleration* act. It places all religious denominations upon a level, or nearly so. There is no ground of complaint respecting its provisions. But look at the law establishing the Medical Institution, in 1810; look at the appropriation of \$20,000 to that Institution; look at the fate of the first application for the college, terminating in an address from Yale College for the Medical Institution; look at the conduct of the Assembly, in granting that Institution, before the session closed; look at the result of the *second* endeavour of Churchmen to get a college; look at the conduct of Yale College, in lying back till Churchmen were wearied with expostulating the Assembly, and in truth, contributing her aid in procuring the votes of the legislature to be given *against* the Bishop's Fund; look at her conduct in applying to the legislature for the *whole* \$50,000 of the Phoenix Premium; look at the conduct of the Assembly, in not rejecting, but laying over this application to the next session, because they had not time to get it through the forms of law; look at these facts, reader, and can you doubt that the *toleration* act remains a dead letter in the statute book? Can you doubt, that the religion taught in Yale College, is the *established* religion? This religion receives a marked preference as to *money*, and as to the incorporation of societies for disseminating its peculiar tenets, under *charitable* and scriptural names. Religious societies for propagating the faith of *one* sect, find no obstacles in the way of getting charters to hold *money*. This money is said to be for *charitable* purposes. But who are employed in missionating? Who receive salaries from this *charitable* fund? What is the amount of *money* now in the treasury of the missionary society? Its amount threatens the existence of all other societies; and indeed, after a few years have passed, its probable accumulation will endanger the government itself.

But let Churchmen apply for the liberty of endowing a Lite-

rary Seminary, and a hue and cry is raised, that they want to *establish* Episcopacy, and to *proscribe* all other denominations.

Episcopalians, in fact, do not enjoy a *real*, though a legal toleration.

Hamilton says that he does not *fear* an established religion.—No, no, he does not *fear*, but he *enjoys* a religious establishment. The Saybrook Platform is still the *reigning* creed.

Yes, reader, since we still have an *established* religion, it is *idle* to reason with the Assembly upon the principles of toleration.

But let us turn from this view of our subject; let us believe that these facts exist only in the *imagination* of the writer; let us believe, with Hamilton, that all Christians are “on an *exact equality* ;” let us believe that “the *cant of liberality*,” is true and real *charity* ; (but, let us not, however, believe, that *liberality* in religion is to be found in perfection among the *Universalists*, although he thus asserts;) let us suppose *this* to be our case :—And now, let us address a few words to the legislature, in favour of the grant to Churchmen, of bestowing diplomas of merit, and of endowing, with their own money, a literary institution.

Gentlemen, you have granted and continued these privileges to Presbyterians, although there are, perhaps, thirty seminaries, propagating their tenets. Episcopalians have not one in our country.—They are willing to incur the hazard of a failure.—They will endow it without calling upon the State, although large grants have been constantly made to Yale College from the treasury—although individual Episcopalians have thrown in their mite to aid that Institution—and although Episcopalians have been taxed for its support.

Is not this a reasonable request? Ponder it in your minds.—“Do to others, as you would that others should do to you.”

The laws of the Assembly hold you out to be the common parent of all religious denominations. You will tolerate, you will cherish, you will furnish means equally to enlighten, to reform, to render happy and obedient, all orders and classes of citizens. This is the true, the benign, the glorious policy; the voice of experience; the dictate of wisdom; the injunction of revelation. It is duty. The Assembly will walk in this “*way of pleasantness and peace*.”

TOLERATION.

General Observations.

SINCE there has been some complaint respecting the publication of *religious* subjects in a *newspaper*, it may be of importance to state, that, in a Prospectus of a religious paper, to be published weekly in this city, President Dwight, the Rev. Messrs.

Merwin and Taylor and Beecher, have given their opinions in its favour. Hon. Judge Reeve and Mr. Beecher say, that "the newspaper is the appropriate vehicle, and will become, we trust, speedily, *in every State and section of our land*, the common vehicle of religious intelligence."

The Connecticut Courant has much matter of this description. But, perhaps, the real objection is to the *kind* of religion introduced in the paper. This objection, however, admits to be praiseworthy the practice of discussing *religious* subjects in a newspaper. Churchmen *claim* to be religious; and shall not *facts* regarding their welfare, and that of their church, never be suffered to appear in the same columns with *revivals of religion*, and extraordinary conversions to particular tenets? The doctrine of *conversion* is held by Episcopalians; but they think that less *noise* is more decisive of its existence.

Churchmen have been silent from the date of the Toleration Act, a period of 32 years. While they were under an avowedly *established* religion, viz. the Saybrook Platform, they were compelled not to *hiss* discontent. They could not support their own clergy. They paid taxes to the establishment. Their religion was ridiculed. But they adhered to their faith.

There are times when the truth should not be told. It may offend. It may injure its own *case*. This may now be our case. When would the time be less *hazardous*, or more convenient to Presbyterians? Since we have committed, in their view, a rash act, in exposing to the public these facts, at this time, we surely may be favoured with the information of a future time, when the *remaining* facts may be told with *convenience* to the dominant sect.

And so much for our rashness in introducing *facts* connected with religion, in a newspaper.

In the 7th page of his preface, Hamilton has given to the public his CREED; in which, among many other things, he talks about "*profanation of the Sacraments, and usurpers of holy office.*" This Founder of a sect endeavours to stigmatize the Episcopal clergy.

"The doctrine of the Divine right of Bishops, in the *sense* in which some *uninformed* men understand it, *he* (Hamilton) *disbelieves*; but as to this and some *other* controverted doctrines, *he* has the *happiness* to coincide in belief with some of the *most learned Bishops!* and *Episcopal Clergy!* in ENGLAND! and this country!"

How he swells,—and swells, and swells, and *bursts!*

There never was any difference of belief as to "the *Divine* right of Bishops," among those who hold to that doctrine. If he had substituted Episcopacy, he would not have committed so great a blunder in his rhodomontade.

In his "Remarks," he says, "that Yale College never de-

nounced ordination by Bishops." Reader, the case of President Cutler is before you, and the votes of the College, pages 56 and 29—Determine for yourself.

What he (*Toleration*) says about a Law School, he (*Hamilton*) has no reason to *hope* is true.

And do you *hope*, Mr. Hamilton, that a Law School, with funds from the State, will be annexed to Yale College? Do you *hope*, Sir, that the Saybrook Platform creed will be *established* for the profession of Law in our State? Do you *hope* that all Churchmen may be excluded from practice at the bar? Do you *hope* that the Litchfield Law Seminary may "experience an embrace similar to that of the Medical Society?" Is this your *hope* as to *this* learned profession?

You advocate the existing test laws of Yale College and the Medical Institution;—of course, then, you are in favour of every office in the State being in the hands of Presbyterians. But you are disposed, you tell us in your creed, "to put all denominations of Christians upon an exact equality;" and that "Episcopacy is not to be *preferred* to Presbyterianism." You also say, that the writer of "*Toleration*" is "a Gothic foe to the best interests of the State;" because we suppose he does not agree with this mild cultivator of the arts of peace, respecting the ambition of the Presbyterians to *control* the three learned professions, and to *exclude* every other denomination in this State from practice in Physic and Law, and from preaching in the *pulpit*.

This is *liberality* in religion!

We will not stain our pages with quotations of his vulgarity and vain attempts at wit.*

Are Hamilton's "Remarks" a specimen of the manners of the

* We may, perhaps, be indulged by our readers, in *construing*, for Hamilton's benefit, the Latin words he has introduced. This translation has been given on account of the *sound* of the words so nearly resembling their *sense*. The story was told to the Senior Class, by the venerable President of Yale College; and it will apply with much propriety to our opponent's character and pedigree, in retaliation for his ribaldry, contained in his "Preface" and "Remarks."—"MONSTRUM! HORRENDUM! INFORME, INGENS!" "The gentleman's a MONSTROUS, HORRIBLE, deformed INDIAN!"

And the Medical Professors, with their *dissecting knives*, have pronounced him to belong to the *Mohawk* tribe.

The person who "stands alone" in this controversy, and who is "entitled to *all* the *merit* in Hamilton's pieces," should live in future ages.

Let the public know, Sir, from your own mouth.—Are you not the same Hamilton—Alexander Hamilton, who contributed to rear the fabric of our Republic, who was Secretary of the Treasury, who wrote the *Federalist*, and who was the great Lawyer of the age?

"I am that very man. I am a Lawyer. I am the sole Author of the "Preface" and "Remarks" in my Pamphlet. I am a writer of Renown! Yes, yes, I am Alexander Hamilton. Alexander Hamilton! Stop! Step! Let me think. Let me think. Oh! the Doctors, the Doctors, that *stubborn*, horrid pack! the Doctors say, I'm of the MOHAWK tribe!"

Bar? They cannot be. We will not cast so foul an imputation upon the profession of Law in our State. No other gentlemen, *except of his own tribe*, ever thus degrade themselves, before a tribunal of justice.

Do such "Remarks" disprove the *facts*, that a *test* of religious faith is established in Yale College and the Medical Institution?—that \$10,000 of the Phoenix premium is ~~the~~ *the right* of the trustees of the Bishop's Fund? For what good purpose, then, are they introduced? Is it not from a *conviction* that these are *facts*, and that the \$10,000 really ought to be appropriated to the Bishop's Fund? Or is this course taken, to give a *personal* complexion to the controversy?

But Hamilton is loud in his complaints about our "garbled" collection. We have published all the matter which was not abusive. Lokman has detected Hamilton in *alterations* of his piece, which happen to favour our *correct* Compiler's purpose.

Notwithstanding all his notes, his "who says so?" "that is untrue," and his billingsgate in his "Preface and Remarks"—in an important point of view, we certainly do not object to the circulation of his pamphlet. Many very well-meaning, and worthy, and able men, will read that compilation, (in which are contained the pieces of his opponents,) who never would have seen, nor perhaps heard of this pamphlet. In this particular, he has promoted our views. Investigation is what we court. We wish no man to be influenced in our favour, without examination.

The charges against the writer, of bigotry, fanaticism, jacobinism, hatred to Yale College, and enmity to the State;—the impeachment of his motives; slander, and denunciation,—must pass for their value. To assert honesty of intention and conviction of rectitude, in the commencement and progress of this controversy, or to appeal to steadiness of behaviour, would be a waste of words, in the view of the writer.

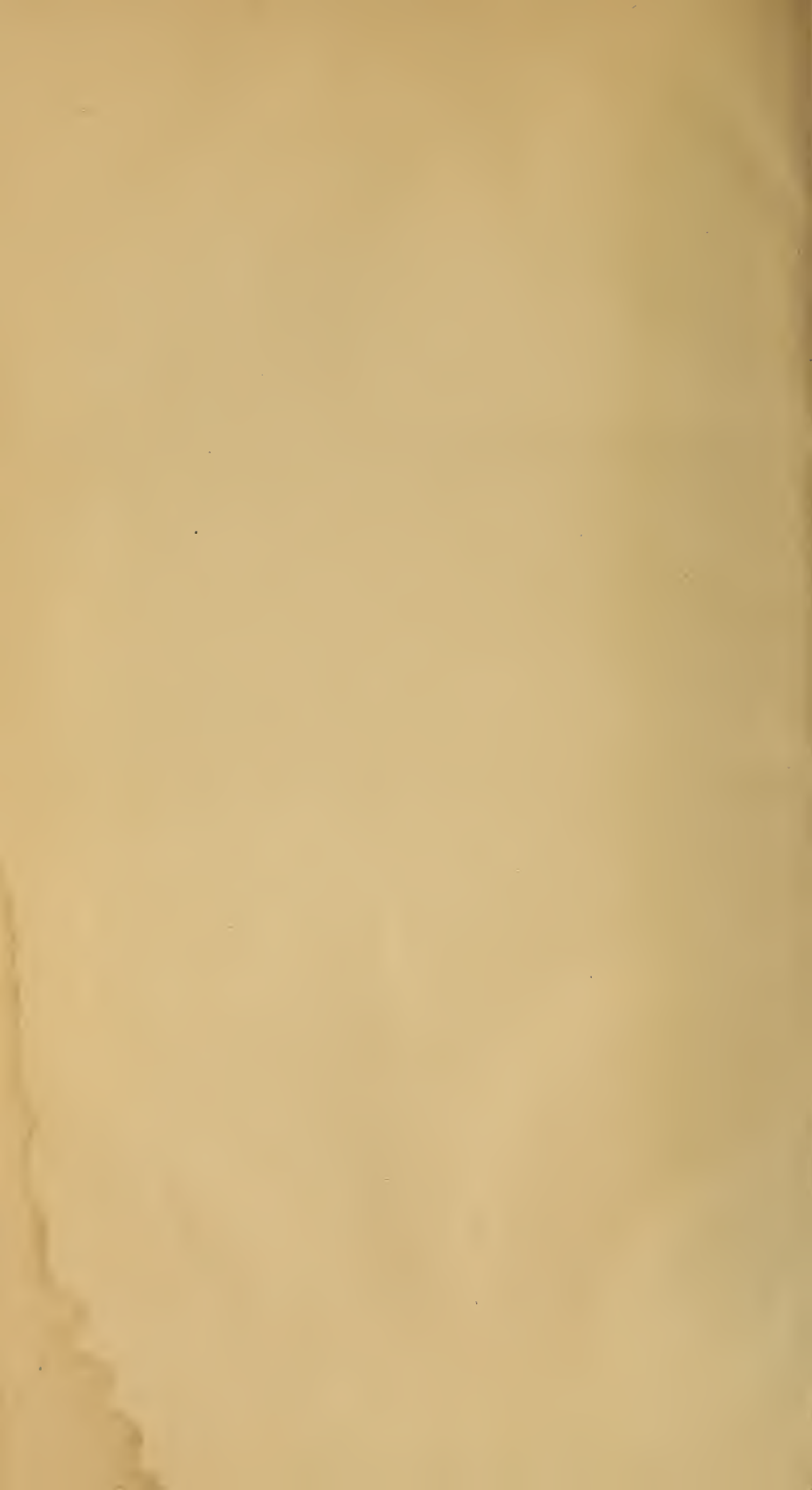
With cheerfulness he submits the facts to the consideration of his fellow-citizens.

TOLERATION.

☞ THE title-page of this collection was struck off before the Concluding Number of "Toleration" and the pamphlet of Hamilton were published. This must apologize for some variation in the contents of this work, from those which the title would lead the reader to expect.

"Lokman," in answer to Hamilton's IVth Number—"Toleration," on the Medical Institution—Episcopacy as liberal as Presbyteranism—Right of Churchmen to a College—and General Observations—are *additional* essays in this pamphlet, which have never before appeared in print, and which are published by

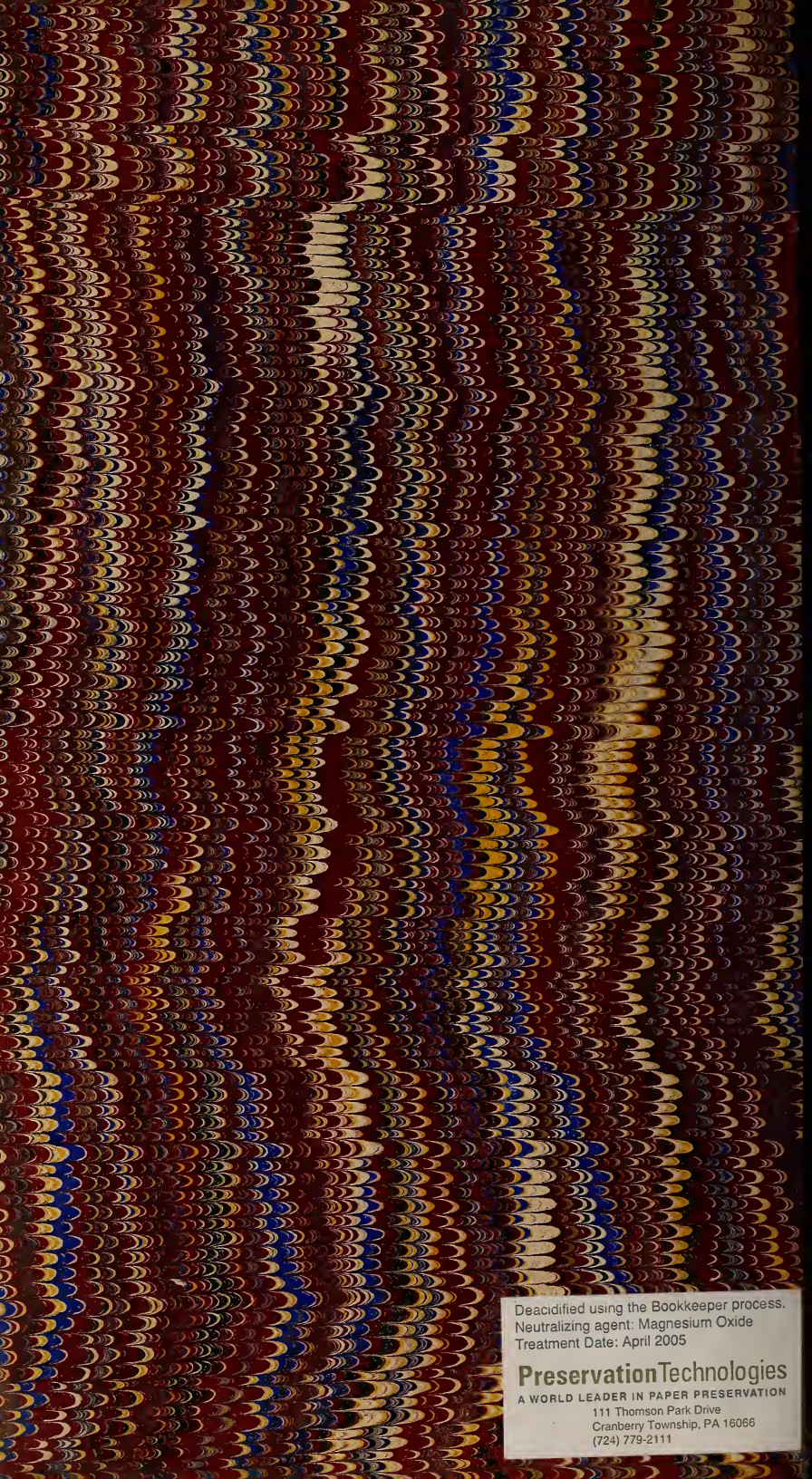
TOLERATION.





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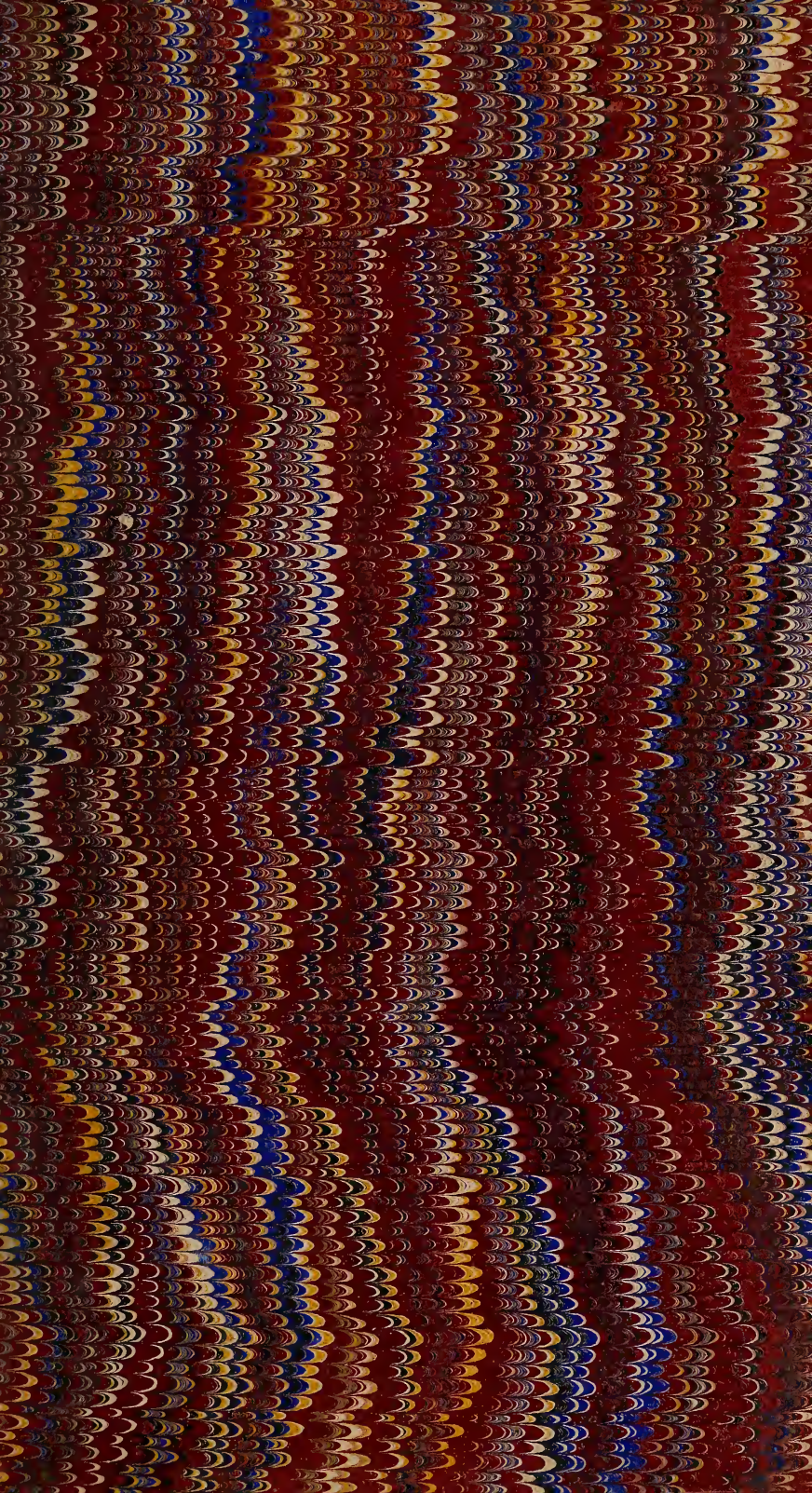
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